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To
My Countrymen.

CALENDAR FOR 1919.

January.

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Issued
from 1919

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1st Year
of Issue

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Volume I] 1919 [Volume I

Edited by

H.N. MITRA M.A.B.L

Introduction
by

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INTRODUCTION

The years 1919 to 1947 are undoubtedly the most momentous years in Indian history. During these years the national movement entered its mass-struggle phase, communalism gradually assumed a menacing form leading to the partition of the land, and modern industry developed so that India was industrially the most developed of the post-colonial states. These years witnessed the rise of a powerful left movement resulting in the coming into being of powerful socialist and communist parties, and for a while a revolutionary terrorist movement. Student, youth and cultural movements as also the movement for women's liberation came into existence. Social reforms, especially the struggle against untouchability, were integrated with the national movement. The oppressed and lower castes founded their own organizations. Modern trade unions were developed as also peasant organizations. The people of princely states entered the political arena. The princes too organized to defend their interests. The colonial state followed highly complex policies. While mass movements were sought to be repressed, simultaneous efforts were made to coopt sections of nationalist movement into the colonial administrative structure. The nationalists countered this strategy by utilizing the legislatures and municipal organs to promote the national movement while at the same time avoiding cooption.

Despite the historical significance of this period, it is still relatively unresearched. Researchers are, however, now rapidly opening up this field and entering it in large numbers, especially as academic status and promotion is now increasingly being linked with research work. The major sources for this period are national and state archives, India Office records, private papers of administrators and political leaders, proceedings of political parties and other voluntary organizations such as those of students, workers, peasants, capitalists, women, depressed classes and communalists, institutional papers such as those of All-India Congress Committee, Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha, newspapers, oral history transcripts, collections of writings and speeches of Gandhi and other leaders, Government reports, and proceedings of Central, provincial, and states' legislatures. Undoubtedly, one of the major handy sources is the Indian Annual Register, edited by H.N. Mitra and N.N. Mitra, which appeared twice a year from 1919 to 1947. The Annual Register or Mitra's Register, as it is popularly known among students and scholars, gathers in one place, in full or in summary form, most of these sources except for Government records and private papers. It is no exaggeration to say that no researcher in the history of the period 1919-47 can afford to do without the basic source represented by the Annual Register.

The first issue of the Annual Register appeared in 1919 and covered the year 1918. The World War I had witnessed two major political movements by Indians at home and abroad. One was the dramatic effort of the Ghadar Revolutionaries, coming mostly from Punjab and residing in the United States and Canada, who planned a violent rebellion in India to overthrow British rule. Even though they failed to launch a major revolt, they succeeded in planting the germ of nationalism among Indian soldiers, stirring up the Punjab peasantry, and in general deepening national consciousness all over the country. Large number of Ghadar leaders were hanged or imprisoned for long periods. Most of the latter and other survivors were to lay the foundations of secular nationalist and peasant movements in Punjab.

The second war-time movement was that of Home Rule initiated in 1916. Arousing the people from almost total political inactivity from 1909 to 1915, the two Home Rule Leagues led by Lokamanya Tilak and Annie Besant set up branches all over India and organized whirlwind nationalist political agitation through the press, pamphlets and platform. The movement grew despite efforts of the Government to suppress it in various ways, including the arrest of Annie Besant and her close associates. As the Secretary of State for India, Edward Montagu, wrote in his diary: "Shiva cut his wife into 52 pieces only to discover that he had 52 wives. This is really what happened to the Government of India when it interned Mrs. Besant." One result was a certain change in British policy. Montagu declared in the House of Commons in August 1917 that His Majesty's Government desired "increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Consequently a scheme of reforms—the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms—was announced in July 1918. The Home Rule Movement reached its zenith in early 1918 and then declined, partially because the reforms divided the nationalist rank. A large number of nationalists wanted to work the reforms even though they were seen to be highly unsatisfactory. But the Home Rule Movement had performed two major functions: It had revived nationalist political activity and given it an all-India shape, and it had created a new generation of nationalist workers who were to play a crucial role in the coming mass phase of the national movement.

Meanwhile a new leader, who had trained himself in new techniques of politics based on mass struggle, evolved a new style of leadership, and came back to India in 1914. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had gone to South Africa as a young barrister in 1893. There he had been drawn into the leadership of the Indian migrants' struggle against racial discrimination. Gandhi had 'experimented' with the Satyagraha form of struggle based on truth and non-violence and succeeded in bending the South African

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Government. After coming back to India in 1915, Gandhi spent an entire year in travelling all over India understanding the Indian people and then organized the Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad. He then set out to experiment with his new method of struggle. In 1917, he took up the peasant struggle against the indigo planters in Champaran in North Bihar and led the textile labourers of Ahmedabad against the Indian mill-owners. In 1918, he took up the struggle of the peasants of Kheda district in Gujarat against the British authorities on the question of the remission of land revenue due to famine conditions. It was in these struggles that Gandhi recruited some of his life-long co-workers such as Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel and J.B. Kripalani.

The British Government had for long been following in India a policy of the carrot and the stick. At this moment, the carrot was represented by the Reform proposals of July 1918; the stick was to take the form of the Rowlatt Bills which would authorize the Government to suspend the right of Habeas Corpus and to imprison any person without trial and conviction in a court of law. The Indian people reacted with horror. They were like a hungry person who is expecting bread and is offered a stone. They were expecting major political gains after the war, but were shocked to find that instead they were being offered the Rowlatt Bills. The main bill was passed into an act with indecent haste in March 1919 even though every single Indian member of the Central Legislative Council opposed it and public opinion expressed itself strongly against it through the press and public meetings.

Gandhi now decided to repeat the South African experiment on the wider scale of the Indian sub-continent. He formed a Satyagraha Sabha and gave a call for an all-India movement of protest against the Rowlatt Act during March 1919. The movement would initially take the form of a nation-wide hartal (strike). Later civil disobedience was to be offered against specified laws. 30 March was fixed as the day of the hartal and mass demonstrations. This date was later changed to 6 April, though Delhi observed hartal on 30 March as information regarding the change in date did not reach there in time. In Delhi, as also elsewhere including Ahmedabad, the hartal was most successful but was accompanied by violence and disorder. For various reasons, the protest took a strong form in Punjab, especially in the cities of Amritsar and Lahore. Gandhi decided to go to Punjab to quieten down the people but he was arrested on the way and deported back to Bombay. Still, he tried his best to pacify the people.

The Government was determined to suppress the mass agitation. It repeatedly lathi-charged and fired upon unarmed demonstrators at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Calcutta, Delhi and other cities. Events took a tragic turn in Punjab. The arrest of popular leaders Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal on April 10 led to a public demonstration which turned violent and attacked the townhall and the post-office. The city was now handed

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over to General Dyer. On 13 April 1919 occurred the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre when a peacefully gathered crowd was fired upon by an army unit and thousands were killed or injured. Punjab was placed under Martial law. A wave of horror ran through the country as the knowledge of Punjab happenings spread. The ugliness and brutality of colonial rule was bared as if in a flash. The entire nation took up the cause of the people of Punjab and decided to get the wrong done to them redressed. The Indian people were further horrified by the insensitivity shown to their feelings on the question in the British Parliament and by the Hunter Commission appointed by the Government to enquire into Punjab disturbances.

While the entire country was discontented due to the Rowlatt Act, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre and the disappointing Reforms, a new ground of discontent was created among Indian Muslims. The Allies headed by the British partitioned the Turkish Empire after the war and threatened the position of the Sultan of Turkey who was regarded by many as the Caliph (Khalifa) or the religious head of all Muslims. A Khilafat Committee was organized under the leadership of the Ali brothers, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Hakim Azmal Khan to agitate on the question. In January 1920, Khilafat Committee accepted Gandhi's suggestion to start a non-cooperation movement on the issue and authorized him to lead the movement from 31 August 1920. The National Congress too, after a heated debate, decided at its special session in September 1920 at Calcutta to start a non-cooperation movement to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and achieve Swaraj. The programme of non-cooperation was to include boycott of legislatures, of law courts and affiliated schools and colleges and foreign cloth, and surrender of government-endowed titles and honours. It was to be later extended to adoption of mass civil disobedience including non-payment of taxes. The Calcutta decision was endorsed at the annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920. The more moderate sections of leadership were in favour of accepting the government's Reform proposals and opposed the non-cooperation programme. Beginning with 1918 they gradually left the Congress and formed separate organizations with different nomenclatures, taking the name of National Liberal Federation in the 1920s.

The years 1921 and 1922 witnessed an unprecedented political upsurge of the people. Thousands of students left schools and colleges and joined national schools and colleges. Hundreds of lawyers, including C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari, gave up their legal practice. Over 30,000 persons, including women, went to jail. Boycott of foreign cloth was organized on a large-scale. Charkha and spinning became popular and Khadi (hand-spun and hand-woven cloth) became "the livery of freedom." The Government once again took recourse to large-scale repression. On 1 February 1922, Gandhi announced that mass civil disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, would be started unless the

political prisoners were released and controls on the press removed immediately. But suddenly struggle was transformed into retreat. On 5 February occurred the Chauri Chaura tragedy. A crowd in this U.P. village, inflamed by brutal police firing, attacked and set the police station on fire causing the death of 22 policemen. Other incidents of violence by crowds had occurred earlier in different parts of the country. Gandhi, feeling that the country was not yet ready for non-violent mass struggle, decided to withdraw the mass movement. The Congress Working Committee ratified his decision on 12 February 1922. In the meanwhile the Khilafat question had also lost relevance as Mustafa Kamal Pasha led a popular revolt against the Sultan in Turkey. He abolished the Caliphate and separated the state from religion. The Government decided to take advantage of the situation, arrested Gandhi on 10 March 1922 and tried and sentenced him to six years' imprisonment.

The Annual Register of 1919 to 1922 starts with the last phase of the Home Rule Leagues and gives in detail the proceedings of the Congress sessions and the Khilafat Committee and the course of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The trial of Gandhi is fully covered. The political activities of the moderates or liberals are given in detail. The administrative measures against the national movement are properly chronicled. The summary of the Report of the Hunter Committee, the discussions in the British Houses of Parliament on the Jallianwalla massacre and the report of the Congress Sub-Committee on the Punjab events are also given in a summary form. A summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report is given while the Rowlatt Act and the Government of India Act of 1919 are reproduced in full.

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The withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement led to the spread of demoralization in the nationalist ranks. It also unleashed furious political debate in the country. The leadership of the national movement had to decide how to prevent the movement from lapsing into passivity. Two schools of thought arose in trying to provide an answer. One school, which came to be known as the Swarajists and was headed by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru argued that the nationalists should end the boycott of the legislatures, enter them and expose their true character before the people and thus "wreck them from within." C.R. Das put forward the Swarajist programme before the Congress at its Gaya session in December 1922. The second school, known as the No-Changers, was headed by Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari. The No-Changers argued for the continuation of the programme of boycott and non-cooperation and for the implementation of the Constructive Programme of the promotion of Charkha, spinning and Khadi, Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and grassroots work in the villages and among the poor. The country would thus be gradually prepared for the resumption of civil disobedience.

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There was great deal of tussle and fierce controversy between the two political trends. Both were, however, determined to avoid a split and repetition of the disastrous experience of the 1907 split at the Surat session of the Congress. In the end a compromise was brought about between them at the end of 1923. After his premature release from jail in 1924, Gandhi endorsed the compromise. As the President of the Congress for the year, he gave the Swarajists majority of seats on the Working Committee.

The Swarajists participated in the elections to the central and provincial legislatures in 1924 and did quite well, capturing 42 out of 101 elected seats in the central legislature where they soon forged a political front with the Liberals, the Independents led by M.A. Jinnah and individuals such as Madan Mohan Malaviya. They succeeded in electing Vithalbhai Patel as the President of the Central Legislative Assembly. The nationalist front repeatedly defeated the Government's budgetary grants, outvoted the Government on many other issues and agitated through powerful speeches on questions of self-government, civil liberties and industrial development. The Congress also captured municipal committees and corporations on a large scale. The Swarajists faced many problems arising from internal dissension because of the very nature of parliamentary work and the pervasive communal atmosphere of the 1920s. They still succeeded in keeping nationalist enthusiasm alive among the middle classes and other newspaper readers. They finally walked out of the legislatures in 1930 with the beginning of a fresh phase of mass struggle.

By 1928, the forces of nationalism had regrouped. As we shall see later, there was the rise of peasant and trade union movements, and the youth were active. The youth had been advocating the acceptance of complete independence as the goal of national struggle. The years 1923 to 1929 marked the emergence of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose on the political scene. The two led the movement of the youth, presided over hundreds of student and youth conferences and encouraged the left-wing tendency to grow in the ranks of the national movement. In February 1927, Jawaharlal Nehru represented India at the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism and came back to India a strong advocate of socialism.

The catalyst to the new phase of the movement was provided when at the end of 1927 the British Government appointed the all-white Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the Simon Commission after its Chairman, to recommend what was to be the basis of further constitutional progress in India. Outraged at the exclusion of Indians from the Commission and by its underlying assumption that India's political future was to be decided in Britain by the British Parliament, nationalists of all shades decided to boycott the Commission. The Commission landed at Bombay on 3 February 1928 and was greeted with a complete hartal and a massive black-flag demonstration. As the Commission toured India inviting evidence, it was everywhere met by a sea of black flags, massive

protest demonstrations and cries of "Go Back Simon." Everywhere the police tried to repress the demonstrations through brutal lathi charges and occasional police firings.

Indian leaders also tried to respond to the challenge of the Simon Commission by getting together and trying to evolve an alternative scheme of constitutional reforms. Tens of conferences and joint meetings among leading political workers were held. The end result was the Nehru Report named after its chief architect, Motilal Nehru, and finalized in August 1928. The Report could not, however, get universal consent.

The issues of the Annual Register covering the years 1922-29 give extensive coverage of the rise of the Swarajist Party, the contention between the Swarajists and the No-Changees, the full Report of the Congress Enquiry Committee on Civil Disobedience, the electoral fortunes of the Swarajists, the internal functioning of the Swarajist Party, and the political role the Swarajists played in the Central and provincial legislatures. The appointment of the Simon Commission, the discussions on its appointment in the Houses of British Parliament, its terms of reference, its country-wide tour, the hostile demonstrations against it, the evidence given before it by more loyalist and conservative elements in Indian political life, and its final report are all given in the issues of the Annual Register. The Register also gives details of the all-party conferences leading to the formulation of the Nehru Report as also the Report itself. Jawaharlal Nehru's participation in the Brussels Congress of the League Against Imperialism and the later activities of the League are also given adequate coverage.

III

The anti-Simon Commission demonstrations transformed the political atmosphere in the country and showed that the country was once again in a mood of struggle. The young, radical nationalists led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were already dissatisfied with the goal of Dominion Status laid down in the Nehru Report. They had succeeded in passing a resolution in favour of complete independence at the Madras session of the Congress in December 1927. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in December 1928, they fought for confirmation of the Madras decision. But Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and other leaders got a resolution passed giving the Government one year in which to accept the demand for Dominion Status, failing which the Congress would adopt complete independence as its goal and would launch a powerful mass movement to make the Government accept it.

In May 1929, a Labour Party government came to power in Britain and initiated discussions with the Indian leaders on further constitutional reforms; but the discussions proved infructuous. The Congress held its annual session at Lahore in December 1929 under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru. The historical resolution declaring Poorna Swaraj or complete independence as the goal of the Congress was passed. The Working Committee was authorized to launch the programme of Civil

VIII

Disobedience.

The first step in the coming struggle was the organization all over the country on 26 January 1930 of public meetings at which the people took the Independence Pledge that it was "a crime against man and God to submit any longer" to British rule. On 31 January, Gandhi gave an ultimatum to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, setting out the Eleven Points constituting the minimum nationalist demands. On 2 March, he informed the Viceroy of his plan of action. On 12 March, he set out with 78 of his co-workers of the Sabarmati Ashram on a 240 mile march to Dandi, a village on the Gujarat sea-coast, where he would break the provisions of the salt laws. Day after day, newspapers reported his progress, his speeches and the impact on the people. Hundreds of village officials on his route resigned their jobs. On 6 April, he reached Dandi, picked up a handful of salt, broke the salt law as a symbol of the Indian people's refusal to live under British-made laws, and thus inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The Movement now spread rapidly as defiance of the salt laws started all over the country. Local marches were organized and salt manufactured illegally. A special feature was the peaceful raids on the depots where the Government stored salt. The 'raiders' remained non-violent even when faced with brutal attacks by the police armed with iron tipped lathis. A new front of the national movement was opened in the North-West Frontier Province by the sturdy Pathans under the leadership of Abdul Ghaffar Khan who had organized a militant but non-violent band of volunteers known as Khudai Khidmatgars or Red Shirts. A massive demonstration was organized at Peshawar leading to the city administration being seized by non-violent volunteers. The effort to drown the upsurge in blood led to the famous incident of the soldiers of the Garhwali regiment refusing to fire on the unarmed and non-violent crowd.

Violation of salt laws was soon followed by defiance of forest laws in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Central Provinces and refusal to pay the rural *chaukidari* tax in Eastern India. In Gujarat, in Kheda district and the Bardoli taluka of the Surat district, the movement was raised to the higher form of non-payment of land revenue though it led to the confiscation of the peasants' lands, cattle and household goods. In U.P. a no-revenue no-rent campaign was organized in several districts. Vigorous boycott of foreign cloth and picketing of liquor shops were an important part of the Civil Disobedience Movement. The Movement was also marked by the heightened role that women, students and youth played in it, especially in the boycott of foreign cloth and liquor.

The Government made every effort to crush the movement, special ordinances were regularly promulgated imposing restrictions on the press, the Congress and political activity in general. Nearly 100,000 satyagrahis were imprisoned. Over 110 persons were killed and many more injured in police firings. Thousands had their heads and bones broken in lathi charges.

Simultaneously the Government negotiated with the Congress leaders through the mediation of the Liberal leaders. It also persisted with the holding of the Round Table Conference in London in November 1930. In late January 1931, it released unconditionally Gandhi and members of the Congress Working Committee and entered into prolonged negotiations with Gandhi. The outcome was the Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on 5 March, 1931. According to the agreement, the Government agreed to release all political prisoners who had not been convicted for violence and conceded the right to make salt for consumption in the coastal areas as also the right to peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops. The Congress agreed to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement and to attend the next Round Table Conference. The most outstanding achievement of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact was the heightening in the prestige of the Congress for it placed the Congress on an equal footing with the Government.

Gandhi sailed for London on 29 August 1931 as the sole delegate of the Congress at the Second Round Table Conference. Other delegates, consisting mostly of loyalists, communalists, careerists, and representatives of big landlords and princes, were used by the Government to deny the Congress the position of representing the Indian nation. Meanwhile, the complexion of the British Government had also changed. The Labour Government had fallen and been replaced by a Conservative Party-dominated Cabinet headed by the Labour leader, Ramsay MacDonald. At the Round Table Conference, Gandhi found himself opposed and checkmated at every step. Finally, the demand for freedom was rejected; Gandhi came back to India empty-handed at the end of December 1931. But, in the meantime, Government policy had undergone a change. Lord Irwin had been replaced as the Viceroy by Lord Willingdon. The new Viceroy as well as his official advisers believed that a major error had been made in signing a truce with Congress. They were determined and prepared to crush the Congress in the next round of struggle.

The beginning was made even before Gandhi returned to India. Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on 26 December for launching a no-rent, no-revenue campaign in five districts of U.P. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested a day earlier and the peasant movement under his leadership subjected to strong repression. In Bengal, repression had already been institutionalized in the name of fighting terrorism. On 29 December, the Congress Working Committee announced that it would resume civil disobedience if the national demands were not met. On 4 June, 1932, the Government made a preemptive strike, arrested Gandhi, promulgated ordinances giving the authorities unlimited powers, and put leading Congressmen all over the country behind bars. The second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement had begun. Soon over 80,000 satyagrahis had courted arrest while hundreds of thousands faced lathi charges and bullets while picketing shops selling foreign cloth and liquor. The

X

movement was, however, effectively crushed within a few months ; it began to gradually wane. By August 1933 only 4,500 satyagrahis were behind bars. The mass movement was first suspended in May 1933 and finally withdrawn in May 1934.

Once again many political activists felt despaired. As early as 1933, Subhas Bose and Vithalbhai Patel had declared that "the Mahatma as a political leader has failed." But in reality this was not so. True, the movement had not succeeded in winning freedom, but it had succeeded in further politicizing the people, in further deepening the social roots of the freedom struggle.

The Annual Register for the years 1929-1934 deals at length with the Congress decision to go in for mass struggle, the negotiations between the Congress and the Government, mediatory efforts by the Liberals, the Salt Satyagraha and the Civil Disobedience Movement during 1930-31, the negotiations leading to the Gandhi-Irwin pact, the proceedings and politics of the Three Round Table Conferences, the second round of the Civil Disobedience Movement and its gradual fizzling out, and the Government's policy of repression. The special ordinances used to crush the movement are reproduced more or less fully.

IV

The withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement led to a fresh series of controversies in the rank of the Congress. While Gandhi emphasized constructive work, another section of Congress leadership led by Doctor M.A. Ansari and Satyamurthy argued for the revival of the Swaraj Party and participation in the elections to the Central Legislative Assembly. A third perspective was opened up by the growing left-wing led by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose. The left-wing advocated the continuation of the non-constitutional mass struggle. Gandhi once again acted as the conciliator. While himself favouring the satyagraha mode of struggle, he agreed that those who wanted to fight through the legislatures should be able to do so. There was, however, to be one change from the 1924 situation. Congressmen were to fight elections and enter the legislatures in the name of the Congress and under its central discipline. Elections to the Central Assembly were held in November 1934; the Congress captured 45 of the 75 elected seats.

Having successfully wielded the stick, the Government once again proffered the carrot. The Third Round Table Conference had met in London in November in 1932, once again without Congress representation. As a result of its deliberations, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act of 1935 extending franchise to nearly 15 per cent of the population and granting provincial autonomy though the Governors retained special powers. The Act also provided for the establishment of an All-India Federation which was to be based on a union of the provinces of British India and the Princely States. The representatives of the States to the bicameral federal legislature were not to be elected by the people but were to

be appointed directly by the rulers. The federal legislature was, moreover, denied any real power. The federal part of the Act was never implemented; but the provincial part was soon put into operation. The British strategy was to strengthen the Liberals and other moderate nationalists and wean them towards constitutional politics and away from the path of mass struggle. They also hoped to split the Congress leadership along left versus right and provincial versus Central lines. The Act of 1935 was condemned by the Congress which declared that a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise alone had the right to frame a constitution for India.

The second major controversy among Congressmen occurred on the question of office acceptance. The Government had announced that elections to provincial legislatures would be held in early 1937. Even while opposing the 1935 Act, the Congress had to decide what attitude to adopt towards the coming elections. There was of course full agreement on the necessity of fighting the elections. But what should the Congress do in provinces where it might get a majority? Should it accept office and form governments or should it refuse to do so in view of the limited character of provincial autonomy and omnipresence of colonialism and colonial state? Nehru, Bose, Socialists, Communists and other left-wing groups and persons were totally opposed to office acceptance for it would mean that Congress was cooperating with British imperialism and weakening, if not abandoning, its revolutionary character. Those who favoured office acceptance denied that they were taking to the path of constitutional politics or getting coopted by the colonial state. They argued that since a mass movement was not just then possible the Congress should accept office as a part of political work among the masses. Moreover, if the Congress rejected office, the reactionary loyalist, communal and casteist parties and groups would occupy the new positions of administrative vantage. Lastly, they said that even the limited provincial powers could be used to promote the constructive programme and to give relief to the people. In the end, the Congress decided at its Lucknow and Faizpur sessions during 1936 to fight the elections and postpone the decision on office acceptance to the post-election period.

The whirlwind election campaign of the Congress met with massive popular response, even though Gandhi did not address a single election meeting. The elections held in February 1937 resulted in clear-cut Congress victory in most provinces. In the beginning the Congress refused to form ministries unless the Government gave an undertaking that the Governors would not use their special powers to interfere in the administration. A compromise was soon worked out and the Congress formed governments in six provinces: Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, U.P., Bihar and Orissa. A few months later it also assumed charge of the administration in the North-Western Frontier Province and Assam. Punjab was ruled by the Unionist Party, Bengal by a coalition of the Krishak Praja Party and the

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Muslim League. Sind too had a coalition ministry. A Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress Working Committee with Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Azad as its members assumed the overall guidance of the Congress Ministries and Congress legislative work in the non-Congress states.

To fulfil the expectations of the people, the Congress Ministries had to take steps to improve the condition of the people even though they were constrained by constitutional provisions. The Congress ministers reduced their own salaries drastically to Rs. 500 per month. They set new standards of honesty and public service. They undertook positive measures in several fields. They extended civil liberties, repealed restrictions on the press and radical organizations, permitted trade unions and Kisan organizations to function and grow, curbed powers of the police, and released thousands of political prisoners including large number of revolutionary terrorists. And when in a few instances the Congress Ministries tampered with civil liberties, as for example in the S.S. Batliwala case, Congressmen all over the country raised a storm of protest. The Congress Ministries, as also some of the non-Congress Ministries, passed agrarian legislation dealing with tenancy rights, security of tenure, rent reduction and relief and protection to the debtors. Efforts were also made to protect the interests of the factory workers, though the emphasis in several provinces was on government-sponsored conciliation and arbitration. The Congress Governments introduced prohibition in selected areas, undertook Harijan uplift and promoted primary, higher and technical education. Support was given to Khadi and other village industries. Modern industries too were encouraged. A significant step was the appointment of the National Planning Committee by the Congress President in cooperation with several provincial Governments. One of the major achievements of the Congress Ministries was their firm handling of communal riots. Despite many achievements, the Congress organization during the ministry period revealed many weaknesses. The left-wing, Nehru and Gandhi made a critique of these weaknesses. In fact, many felt that the positive role of the ministries and constitutional politics was getting exhausted.

The Annual Register covers the debates within the Congress on the questions of participation in elections to the Central Assembly in 1934, attitude towards the Act of 1935, and office acceptance. The election results of 1937 are reproduced extensively, and the functioning of the popular ministries in both Congress and non-Congress provinces is adequately detailed. The legislation passed by the popular ministries as also the debates around them are reproduced.

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World War II broke out on 1 September 1939 when Nazi Germany invaded Poland. The Government of India immediately, without consulting Indian leaders or even the provincial governments and elected members of the Central Assembly, declared India also to be at war with Germany. After

a great deal of debate, the Congress, even while condemning Nazi Germany, decided not to join the war so long as Britain did not agree to establish full democracy in India and promise to give India freedom after the war. At the same time it would not take advantage of Britain's difficulties by starting an immediate struggle. The British Government's response was utterly unhelpful. Branding the Congress a Hindu organization, it tried to pit the religious minorities and Princes against the Congress. It also refused to define its war aims so far as its colonies were concerned. The Congress reaction was to reiterate its refusal to join the war efforts and to ask the Congress Ministries to resign in protest. But in view of its desire not to embarrass those fighting Nazi aggression, it still did not give a call for struggle.

The people were, however, restive. The left-wing was critical of the leadership's wait and see attitude and urged immediate action. Meeting at Ramgarh in March 1940, the Congress declared that "nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people" and threatened civil disobedience. The Government, however, remained adamant and refused to budge. Instead it issued a large number of ordinances taking away the freedom of speech and the press and the right to organize into associations. It also arrested a large number of left-wing political workers. The Congress now decided to initiate a satyagraha campaign which was, however, to remain limited. Only carefully elected individuals were to offer satyagraha in defence of freedom to speak and protest against participation in the war. By 15 May, 1941, more than 25,000 satyagrahis had been jailed.

Two major international developments occurred during 1941. On 22 June, Germany attacked the Soviet Union and on 7 December, Japan attacked the United States and joined the war against the Allies. Japan conquered in quick succession Phillipines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya and Burma and brought the war to India's borders. The recently released Congress leaders denounced Japanese aggression and once again offered to fully cooperate in the defence of India and the Allied cause if Britain transferred the substance of power to India immediately and promised complete independence after the war. Under pressure from President Roosevelt of the USA, President Chiang Kai-shek of China, and the leaders of the British Labour Party, the British Government sent a mission to India in March 1942. The mission, headed by Stafford Cripps, was to negotiate a political settlement with Indian leaders and seek their cooperation for the war effort. The terms of the Cripps proposal were, however, found unsatisfactory by the Indian leaders. It was clear that the British Government was not willing to transfer the substance of power. The negotiations, therefore, soon broke down.

The Annual Registers from 1939 to 1942 deal with the Congress stand and the government response, and the positions taken up by other political parties and groups. The tensions and debates within the ranks of the

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Congress leadership are adequately reported. The course of the Individual Satyagraha is traced. The complex negotiations between Stafford Cripps and the Indian political leaders are reproduced and analysed.

The Indian people were embittered and angry at the failure of the Cripps Mission. Their discontent was further funnelled by war-time shortages and rising prices. They found the existing political situation intolerable. They must now act. The period from April to August 1942 was one of daily heightening tension with Gandhi becoming more and more militant as Japanese forces moved towards India and the spectre of Japanese conquest began to haunt the people and their leaders. The Annual Register faithfully portrays the rising tempo of nationalist feeling and the desire to struggle of those months.

Finally, the All-India Congress Committee met in Bombay on 8 August and passed the famous Quit India Resolution proposing to start a non-violent struggle under Gandhi's leadership. This time, declared Gandhi, the nationalists would not "be satisfied with anything less than freedom." He exhorted the people to "Do or Die." Gandhi, of course, in his usual strategic and political style, planned to open negotiations with the Government to persuade it to accept the nationalist demand. But the Government had already made full preparations to meet the challenge. It struck hard. On the morning of 9th August, it arrested all the major leaders gathered in Bombay and took them to unknown destinations. The people were thunder-struck, and reacted with anger and passion. There were spontaneous disturbances all over the country. Hartals, strikes in factories, schools and colleges, and public demonstrations and processions were the order of the day. The Quit India Movement had begun.

In several areas, the movement took the form of popular rebellion and the formation of parallel governments in Ballia in Eastern U.P., Tamluk in Midnapore district of Bengal, and Satara district of Bombay. Underground organizations appeared all over the country, and they organized sabotage of communications by blowing up bridges, cutting telegraph and telephone wires and derailing goods trains. The Government took every conceivable step to suppress the popular upsurge. The press was completely muzzled. Lathicharges, firing, machine-gunning and even bombing from the air were frequent occurrences. Over 10,000 persons died in police and military firing. In the end, the Government succeeded in crushing the movement. Because of war-time Defence of India Rules, all this could not be reported, or only very barely, in the press or the Annual Register except in the form of official critique of the movement.

A dramatic political development occurred in February 1943, when Gandhi went on a 21-day fast, holding the 'leonine violence' of the Government responsible for the violent response of the people. The fast led to intense political activity by prominent non-Congress leaders who tried to persuade the Government to release Gandhi. Three members of the

Viceroy's Executive Council, M.S. Aney, N.R. Sarkar and H.P. Mody, resigned in protest against the Government's obduracy.

Even though the Quit India Movement was suppressed, this movement and the popular response to the earlier Individual Satyagraha had made it evident that the British would no longer find it possible to rule India against the wishes of the people. Gandhi was released from jail on 6 May, 1944 and political activity once again gained strength. Other major Congress leaders were released in June 1945 and asked to participate in the Simla Conference convened by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell.

Meanwhile, Subhas Bose had escaped from India in March 1941 and gone first to Germany and Italy and then, in July 1943, to Singapore. There he had built on an earlier organization of patriotic Indian soldiers and officers, organized the Indian National Army (INA) and set up the Provisional Government of Free India on 21 October, 1943. Contingents of the INA had joined the Japanese Army in its march on India from Burma to free India. The march failed. All this could not of course be reported in India under war-time regulations.

With the end of war in Europe in April 1945, India's anti-imperialist struggle entered a new phase. That Britain would have to quit India became evident from several major political developments which were now fully reported in the Annual Register. One major development was the tumultuous welcome given by large crowds to leaders as they came out of jails from June 1945 onwards. When the Congress Working Committee met in Bombay, several lakh people braved rain to line the streets to welcome their leaders.

Another major development came in the form of the massive campaign all over the country for the release of the INA men who were brought to India after the end of the war in the East and threatened with serious punishment. The campaign reached a crescendo when the Government put on trial for treason three senior INA Officers, Generals Shah Nawaz, Gurdial Singh Dhillon and Prem Sehgal, who were earlier officers in the British Indian army. During this campaign two major upsurges, virtually amounting to insurgency, occurred in Calcutta in November 1945 and February 1946. The Government had in the end to bend and release these officers and give up the attempt to punish other men and women of the INA. Another massive popular upsurge occurred from 18 to 22 February 1946 in Bombay when the ratings of the Royal Indian Navy went on strike for their demands and the city of Bombay responded with a hartal and massive demonstration. Naval ratings in many other ports went on sympathetic strike. Soldiers and airmen in cantonments in different parts of India had already broken discipline in several instances. Large segments of the bureaucracy were already penetrated by nationalist sentiments. It became clear that Britain could no longer rely on the loyalty of their old instruments for keeping the people down.

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A third major development was the outburst of a strike wave among workers and government employees on economic issues. There were, for example, strikes by postal and telegraph workers and railwaymen and even by policemen in Bihar. Peasant movements also became more pervasive and militant. Struggles for land and against high rents took place in Malabar, Bengal, U.P., Bihar and Maharashtra. Many of the Indian Princely states—Hyderabad, Travancore, Kashmir among others—were enveloped by popular up-surges and revolt.

Elections to provincial assemblies, held in early 1946, provided the fourth major political development. The congress won an overwhelming majority of general seats while the Muslim League did the same for Muslim seats.

All these indicators pointed to the mood of the people. In the meanwhile in 1945 elections in Britain, a Labour Government headed by Major Attlee had come to power. The Labour Party leaders had long been sympathetic to Indian freedom struggle and, what is more important, they read the signs of the time correctly. On 19 February, 1946, Attlee announced in the House of Commons that the Government was sending a Cabinet Mission to India to negotiate with the Indian leaders the terms for the transfer of power. There followed nearly 1½ years of hectic and tortuous tripartite negotiations between the Government, the Congress and the Muslim League, leading to the formation of an Interim Government in September 1946 and eventual achievement of independence as also the partition of India. These negotiations and other political events are dealt with at length in the issues of the Annual Register.

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(A) The Indian National Congress was the chief vehicle and organiser of India's anti-imperialist struggle. The Annual Register contains detailed reports of all its annual sessions and the proceedings of all the All-India Congress Committee sessions and the meetings of the Congress Working Committee. The resolutions passed by all the three bodies of the Congress are also reproduced. It is undoubtedly the handiest source for this major aspect of the national movement. The Congress underwent two major organizational changes, once in 1920 and then again in 1934. The Register contains all the relevant details. The economic and political programme and policies of the Congress underwent regular evolution in a radical direction. This evolution is traced in the Register. Particularly important in this respect are the proceedings and resolutions of the Congress sessions at Karachi in 1931 and at Lucknow and Faizpur in 1936. The Congress was not free of internal dissension, groupings, factionalism, and inner-party struggle. From 1918 when the Congress split on the question of attitude towards Montagu-Chemsford Reforms to Subhas Bose's election in 1939 followed almost immediately by his resignation internal struggles within the Congress were endemic and are detailed in the Annual Register.

As pointed out earlier, an important achievement of the Congress was

the use of and participation in colonial legislatures from 1924 to 1947 without falling prey to the imperialist strategy of cooptation and absorption into the imperial constitutional structure. Otherwise also, the nationalists of many hues used the legislatures both to fight for Indian interests and as organs of propaganda. Activity in legislatures also throws light on the efforts of different social classes and interest groups to bend administrative policies in direction of their own interests. Annual Register digests—but at considerable length—the proceedings of the central and provincial legislatures over the years. This alone would make Annual Register a major source for modern Indian history.

Next to its mass campaigns and constructive work, the Indian national movement relied heavily for politicization of the people on provincial, district, taluka and local conferences. The Register gives basic details of the provincial conferences over the years.

The Indian national movement followed an active foreign policy of anti-colonialism, peace and Asian solidarity. The culmination came with the Asian Relations Conference of 1947. The Register brings out the evolution of Indian nationalist foreign policy as also the details of the 1947 Conference.

(B) The Indian National Congress represented the mainstream of the Indian national movement; there were, however, many other strands which were often parts of the Congress but also maintained independent organizational structures. Such was the case with Revolutionary Terrorists, the Communist Party of India, the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc. Many of the activities of the first two were perforce conducted underground because of legal bans on them. Still the Register deals with the Kakori Case, Assembly Bomb Case and Lahore Conspiracy Case involving Bhagat Singh and his comrades, the Revolutionary Terrorists of Bengal and the strong measures the Government took against them, especially in Bengal. The first legal conference of the Indian Communists at Kanpur in 1925 is reported as is also the Meerut Conspiracy Case. An interesting detail is the Gandhi-Skalatvala correspondence. Once the Communist Party is legalized in 1942, its political activities are duly reported. All the Congresses of the Congress Socialist Party starting with the founding Congress at Meerut in 1934 are covered as are also many of the provincial conferences of the socialists. Once the Forward Bloc comes into existence its activities are reported at length.

The Liberals represented the major constitutional and right-wing strand of Indian nationalism after 1918. They formed and reformed many organizations, though perhaps the National Liberal Federation remained their premier body. The annual sessions of the Federation, the occasional conferences of the Liberal organizations, and their general political activities find a due place in the Register.

(C) The impetus of the social and religious reform movements of the

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19th century was strengthened during the post-1918 years. The Annual Register provides details of the Akali Movement, the Vaikom and Guruvayur Satyagrahas, the movement of Harijan uplift including Gandhi's campaign of 1932-33, and the formation and activities of various 'depressed classes' organizations to organise the struggle of the lower castes against caste oppression and discrimination, including Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's endeavours.

(D) Several segments of the Indian people were mobilized during the years 1918-47 both for the anti-imperialist struggle and for their own class and sectional demands. The Annual Register covers these fully. There was, for example, the student and youth upsurge from 1927-29. The student movement took a more organised form in 1936 when the All-India Students Federation was formed. The annual sessions of the Federation and other student organizations find a due place in the Register's pages.

Women's movement was initiated in early 1920s culminating in the first session of the All-India Women's Conference in 1927. Since then the Conference met more or less every year. Simultaneously provincial conferences of women, women's educational conferences and many similar conferences were organized and duly reported.

The All-India Trade Union Congress was founded in 1920. Its annual sessions marked the high water-mark of the working class movement. These sessions as also the major industrial strikes can be studied in the pages of the Register. The Kisan (peasant) movements in India were initiated in the immediate post-First World War years. The Register falters in reporting them, though it does discuss the Kheda struggle, Moppilah Rebellion, the Bardoli Satyagraha, the no-rent, no-revenue campaign in U.P., and the peasant movement in North-Western Frontier Province led by Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Once the peasant movement takes an organized form with the founding of the All-India Kisan Sabha, the Register begins its coverage in a more regular manner.

From the middle 1920s the Indian capitalists start acting as an organized pressure group. They also start making a systematic critique of colonial economy and economic policies and simultaneously start supporting the national movement. Their main organ in this respect was the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The Register reports the activities of the Federation, as also of several other organizations of Indian manufacturers and traders. As opposed to the Federation, the British capital's interests were represented by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Bengal and Bombay Chambers of Commerce whose proceedings are also reported in the Register.

(E) The pattern of the National Congress was followed by many professionals, etc., who organized into all-India bodies and held annual conferences. Indian Science Congress was the first to hold a session in 1919, then came Indian Economic Conference, Indian Industrial Congress,

Indian Philosophic Conference, All-India Library Conference, All-India Educational Conference, All-India Journalists Conference, Indian Civil Liberties Union, All-India Medical Conference, the All-India History Congress, the All-India Oriental Conference, All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, and so on. The basic details of these and many other annual conferences are given in the Annual Register.

(F) A major political advance in India during the 1920s was the political awakening of the people of the princely states. To give this awakening an all-India dimension the Indian States' Subjects Conference was held in 1924, 1925 and 1927. A more organized shape was given to the movement when the All-India States People's Conference was founded in 1928 and then held regular meetings except during the phases of the mass movements in British India. From 1938, intense political activity and mass movements were initiated in many of the states. The Register records most of them, including all the sessions of the States People's Conference.

(G) Communal riots broke out in India on a large-scale after 1922. Efforts were made to defuse communal tension through unity conferences and all parties conferences. Communal parties had remained dormant during the Non-Cooperation Movement. They once again became active after 1922. The Annual Register deals at length with the tens of communal riots, the annual conferences of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and of other all-India and provincial communal organizations over the years from 1922 to 1947. The nationalist efforts to appease and conciliate the communal parties and groups during the late 1920s as also during 1937-41 and 1945-47 as also the politics of these parties and groups find a prominent place in the pages of the Register.

(H) Princes, organised in the Chamber of Princes, and the Europeans, organized in the European Association and other associations, were another pillar of colonialism. Their politics and proceedings can also be studied in the pages of the Register.

(I) Caste organizations, especially the non-Brahmin movements and organizations of South India and Maharashtra, played a dual role in Indian politics. They were a vehicle for the struggle against upper caste domination of Indian society; but they were also a divisive force used by colonial authorities to weaken Indian nationalism. By early 1930s the positive aspects of the non-Brahmin movement were absorbed by mainstream nationalism and most of the non-Brahmin cadre and leader joined the National Congress. Those representing the negative aspects were completely defeated and isolated politically. The Annual Register deals with the politics, activities, organizations, and conferences of this kind of politics beginning in the early 1920s and tapering off by late 1930s.

(J) The Register deals at length with the Government of India's policies and policy pronouncements. It gives details of the Secretary of States' India Council, the Viceroy's Executive, the Governor's Councils, the names of the

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members of Indian and provincial legislatures at different times. Details of most of the laws enacted by the central and provincial legislatures are given. The Government of India appointed a host of committees to investigate problems and issues. Their reports are a basic source of modern Indian history. The Register gives, year after year, page after page, in full or in summary form, nearly all the important reports starting with the Report of the Industrial Commission, 1918.

(K) Till 1927, the Register reproduces extensively questions and debates on India in the two Houses of British Parliament. This coverage becomes more and more skeletal in the later years. The major activities in Britain and the USA in support of Indian national movement, the position of Indians in South Africa, East Africa, Fiji and other parts of British Empire, and Indian issues and personages at the League of Nations, the ILO, and the United Nations are discussed in a separate section headed "India abroad" in most issues of the Register.

(L) Lastly, one of the most useful parts of the Register is the very large section which gives chronicle of events and the details of major political and other happenings during the year concerned.

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The Annual Register is not available in most Indian libraries and has been out of print for years. It is a happy publishing event that it is being made available to the scholarly world. Its publication is most welcome at the present time, for Indian academic world is undergoing a research explosion with thousands of students enrolling for M.Phil. and Ph.D. courses. Yet, research materials are not available to most of them unless they are studying and teaching at metropolitan centres where national or state archives exist. The Annual Register can enable many of these students in history, political science or sociology departments to work on their seminar papers and M.Phil. dissertations. Even Ph.D. students can use the Registers both for framing a hypothesis and gather their preliminary data so that they can later go to the archives and national libraries for the more detailed primary materials with a certain economy of time as also with a better idea what data to look for and search. In fact, no college, university or other major library should be now without the Annual Register.

B.C.

FOREWORD.

In this compilation an attempt has been made to supply the need, now growingly felt in the country, of a small but comprehensive annual digest of all Public activities—political, social, industrial, educational, etc., in and concerning India. A good deal of Indian affairs is discussed and decided outside India, in England in the Houses of Parliament, for instance, of which the average Indian hears little and perhaps knows even less. Times are moving fast and even in India people are getting less leisured, and those who have the inclination to read and know more about India and her progress in any direction have rarely the time or the means to go through the bulky original Reports, Bulletins, Proceedings, etc., issued by Government or by Public bodies and associations. It is increasingly felt, also, alike by those who are already in public life as by those who are gradually coming into it, that parochial interests so long cultivated must now give place to a wider outlook, and that facts and events of the immediate past are too valuable to be speedily forgotten and instead may be made to yield a much wider experience and better equipment than heretofore; a handy volume of the nature of an annual Progress Report would eminently serve this purpose. Also, with the recent high tide in Indian aspirations has come a general desire to know more of India as a whole. The different Provinces and States of India want to know more of each other; and the long and rapid strides taken by such States as Mysore and Baroda in administrative matters have given an edge to the

all round spirit of enquiry now so perceptible in the country. Any enquirer who wants to know the political, social, or other conditions of India, say, five years back, or say, who wants to trace the ontogeny of a particular movement, must first give most of his time to the collection of rare papers, gazettes, journals, reports, etc., and then proceed to piece together the small fragments of information that he secures after an enormous loss of energy and time.

The Indian Annual Register is started to obviate to some extent at least some of these difficulties. In this, its first issue, it is feared that nothing more than a remote approximation to the standard set forth above has been reached, and it is hoped that it will receive from the generous public the indulgence that is its due. Suggestions and correspondence are most gladly invited and will, it is assured, receive the closest attention.

Sibpur, Calcutta.
The Annual Register Office.
July, 1919.

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Editor.

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PART I—DIRECTORY.

Chronicle of Events 1918.

January.

1st. New Year Honours list.—Nizam becomes "His Exalted Highness" as hereditary distinction. Increased salutes to 15 Princes, 6 K.C.S.I; 8 C.S.I; 4 K.C.I.E, 28 C.L.E, 8 Krs, etc.

Viceroy and Sec. of State receives at Bombay deputations from C. P and Berar for the Reforms.

2nd. Maharaja Mysore opens Mysore-Arsikere Railway connecting Mysore in direct line with Bombay.

3rd. Viceroy replies to the Premier's Telegram thanking him for the inspiring message it conveyed.

4th. Conference of Chiefs and Princes at Patiala to discuss establishment of a Chiefs Council.

All India Conference of Librarians met at Lahore under Mr. Sharp.

6th. First Sunday in the year—Divine services of all denominations throughout India on the initiative of the King-Emperor.

7th. Railway Conference of the Agents of all Indian Railways met at Simla under Sir R. Highet to discuss War requirements.

Bengal Co-operative Society Conference opened.

8th. Servants of India Society under Swami Sri Sankaracharya organise an Indian Academy on the lines of the French academy.

9th. Indian Science Congress sessions opened at Delhi by the Lieut. Governor, and presided over by Dr. Gilbert Walker.

10th. Food Riots and Hat looting for several days at various places in Bengal and else where.

11th. Sir Rabindranath protests against arrest of his Pupil by C.I.D.

12th. Mr. Montagu's Mission of Receiving Deputation of Indian Reforms closed. Altogether some 110 deputations and 930 individuals have been received and heard.

15th. Governor of Bombay presides over a big meeting of City representatives to discuss on high house rents and food price.

16th. Deputation of Calcutta Municipal Corporation to Bombay to study municipal system.

17th. Madras Govt. communique on advancement of Mahomedan education.

18th. Bengal Light Horse, an Indian unit, scheme sanctioned.

19th. Behari Provincial Brahmin Conference at Moradpur under the Raja of Tahirpur as president.

20th. Death of Sir Chandramadhab Ghosh, late officiating Chief Justice Bengal, at Calcutta.

24th. Conference at Delhi of Provincial Governors with Mr. Montagu on Constitutional Reforms

26th. Great Shop-looting Panic at Bombay following high prices.

Death of Sir William Wedderburn, the "father" of the Indian Congress, in England.

29th. Malaria Conference under the Governor at Calcutta.

Annual Meeting of Calcutta Trades assocn. under Mr. Wiggett dealing with current political problems.

31st. Report of P. W. D. Reorganisation Committee published. B and O. Legislative Council met at Patna, L. G. presiding.

February 1918

6th. Imperial Council—Viceroy's opening Speech. Income-Tax Amendment Bill, cinematographs Bill and forest Act Amendment Bill introduced. Hon'ble B. N. Sarma's resolution, on redistribution of the Provincial areas on language basis as preliminary to Reforms, rejected.

Punjab Provn. Muslim League met to request Viceroy to withhold his sanction from "The Habitual offenders Movement Bill."

8th. Royal Proclamation in Delhi establishing branch of Royal Mint at Bombay for Gold currency.

10th. All India Hindu Conference met at Allahabad under Jagatguru Sri Shankaracharya of Puri.

12th. Fifth Session of All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammilan at Mayo Hall, Allahabad.

13th. Government of Bombay appoints Controller of prices.

15th. Sir James Meston makes over charge of L. G. of U. P. to Sir Harcourt Butler.

18th. Mr. Manuk's petition to the Patna High Court questioning the legality of special tribunals in the Saharanpur Bakrid Riot Case.

19th. Imperial Council. Delhi,—Usury Bill, Coinage Act Amendment Bill, Indigo cess Bill, introduced.

Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta,—Allies disqualification Bill, Hackney Carriage Bill, and Bengal Settled Estate Act introduced.

20th. Bombay Government Bill to restrict increase of house rent published for opinion.

Indian Railway administration report 1917-18 published at Delhi.

21st. Mysore Legislative Council, Bangalore—suggestion made to introduce Minto-morley scheme.

24th. Bengal Provincial Conference Reception committee met at Chinsura under the chairmanship of Hon. Mohendra Ch. Mitra. Sir R. N. Tagore unanimously elected president of the Conference to be held on 29th and 30th March.

25th. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla becomes member, Executive Council, Bombay.

26th. Annual meeting of Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Sir H. Bray presiding.

27th. Imp. Council, Delhi—Forest Act Amend. Bill passed. Non-official resolutions. Questions and Resolutions on Exchange compensation claim, Recruitment of Engineers, appointments for Indians and Re-extension of High-court Jurisdiction.

Travancore Popular assembly met at Trivandrum.

28th. Imp. Council.—Non-official Resolutions.

March 1918

1st. Imp. Council Delhi—The Financial Statement of the year. Estimate for 1917—18 shows surplus of £8 million. Estimate of 1918—19 shows surplus of £2·3 millions.

Calcutta University Annual convocation opened by the Governor.

5th. The Great Internment Meeting at Town Hall, Calcutta, under Mr. B. Chakravarty.

Imp. Council, Delhi—Army Act Amend. Bill introduced. Coinage Act Amendment bill passed. Cinematographs Bill passed. Non official resolutions.

7th. C. P. Legislative Council. Government withdraws Local Self Government and Village Sanitation Bills.

8th. Imp. Council—Budget Debate.

9th. Imp. Council—Budget Debate.

10th. Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras, to condemn certain speeches of the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Rajagopalachariar in the local legislative council.

12th Imp. Council—Budget Debate.

Civil Rights committee public meeting at Madras against repressive measures of Government.

13th. Bombay Legislative Council—Financial statement presented.

Madras Legislative Council—Financial Statement presented.

Punjab Legislative Council—Simla House Act 1918 amendment Bill introduced and passed ; Financial Statement presented.

14th. Enthusiastic reception to Chandernagore Volunteers returned from the front.

Bengal legislative Council—Financial Statement presented.

Imp. Council—Income tax Amend. Bill passed.

15th Bombay Council—Rent bill referred to select Committee.

16th. Bengal Legislative Council.

Hearty send-off to Home-rule delegates at Bombay proceeding to England.

17th. Bombay National Union meeting held at Bombay under Prof. Telang.

18th. B. & O. Government Communique repudiating Swami Satyadeva's speeches after the Bakrid riots as inflammatory and prejudicial to public order.

Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel returned to Imp. Council in place of Sir E. Rabimtoola.

Imp. Council—I. D. F. Bill introduced.

19th. Imp. Legislative Council—Soldier's Litigation Bill passed.

B. C. Pal leaves Calcutta for Bombay to join the Home rule deputation to England.

21st. Bombay Council—Bombay Medical Act Amend. introduced and referred to select Committee.

Swami Satyadev sends representation to B. and O. Government denying charges against him.

22nd. Kaira Ryots Passive Resistance started by Mr. Gandhi.

Bombay Council—Non official resolutions

Imp. Council—Usuary Bill passed—Council adjourned *Sine Die*.

Viceroy unveiled bust of Mr. Gokhale in Council Chamber.

23rd. Death of Sir John Anderson, Governor of Ceylon, in Colombo.

24th. Bombay Council—Rent Bill passed.

25th. Bombay Chamber of Commerce—Annual meeting under Mr. Hogg as president.

26th. The second Home Rule league conference at Bombay under Hon Mr. M. D. Ramji.

27th. Hearty send off to second Home-rule league deputation headed by Mr. Tilak at Bombay proceeding to England.

29th. Annual meeting of Bengal Provincial congress committee at the Indian Association hall under Mr. B. Chackerburty.

30th. Bengal Provincial Conference at Chinsura under the Hon. A. C. Dutt—Presidential address.

Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras to protest against the unjust action of Burma Government prohibiting A. B. Patrika, The Hindu and New India coming into Burma.

31st. Bengal Provincial Conference—Resolutions passed—the Bengal Scheme.

April 1918.

2nd. Premier's message to Viceroy on imminent German Menace to India and asking India to prepare.

3rd. Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose memorial meeting at Calcutta under H. E. the Governor.

4th. Hon. Sir W. Meyer opens Tata Industrial Bank, Bombay. Indian Home-rule deputation passport cancelled by order of British Government War Cabinet.

Bengal Legislative Council—Sir. S. P. Sinha introduced 'village Self-Government Bill.

5th. Viceroy's message to the premier assuring India's help

8th. Inaugural celebration of the National educational week at the Arva Samaj Hall Calcutta under Sir A. Choudhuri.

10th. Big public meeting at the Dalhousie Inst. Calcutta under Mr. B. Chuckerburty to consider the Premier's message to India.

H. E. the Governor opened the Calcutta branch of the Tata Industrial Bank Ltd.

H. E. The Governor inspected Cal : University infantry; Belghoria Camp, Calcutta.

17th. Sir Michael O'Dwyer announced the grant of commissions to nine Punjabis at a recruiting meeting at Amritsar

Mrs. Besant delivered a lecture on War Cabinet's decision cancelling passports to Home Rule Deputations at Beadon Square, Calcutta.

Big Moslem meeting at Agra on the Arrah riot case under Mr. H. S. Hossin.

18th. Mrs. Besant delivered lecture on "the Present Political Situation and our duty" at Bankipore.

19th. First Bombay Co-operative Conference opened under Hon. Lallubhai Samaldas.

21st. Mr. Tilak delivered a lecture on the Delhi Conference at Madras—Mrs. Besant presiding.

22nd Second Session of Mysore Representative assembly, interesting reforms introduced

26th Bombay Millowner's Association—Annual meeting under Sir D. Wacha.

27th Imperial War Conference at Delhi—Viceroy's opening speech—Man power and Resources Committee appointed.

Public meetings all over the country to express dissatisfaction at the composition of the Delhi War Conference.

28th. War Conference sub-committee meetings.

Celebration of third anniversary of Indian Home-rule league at Bombay and Belgaum.

Mr. Gandhi opened Swadeshi Co-operative stores at Delhi.

29th. War Conference—Resolutions passed—Khaparde's resolution vetoed out of order.

Mr. Gandhis letter to the Viceroy.

30th. Lord Willingdon laid foundation stone of New Seamen's Institute in Bombay.

May 1918.

2nd. Bengal war Conference, Calcutta, under the Governor, H. F. Lord Ronaldshay.

Govt. of India issues *communique* saying that 5,00,000 recruits are required.

3rd. All India Congress Committee met at Bombay under Mrs. Besant. Labour party invited to send delegates to the next Congress at Delhi.

4th. Provincial War Conferences—At Madras, U. P. Punjab. C. P.

Bengal Humanitarian Asscn. Exhibition at the Town Hall, Howrah.

6th. Bombay Provincial Conference at Bijapur. Mr. Gandhi urged abolition of indenture system of labour recruitment.

9th. Madras Provincial Conference at Conjeeveram, expressed dissatisfaction to the Delhi conference.

10th. Govt. of India notification of establishment of several boards in pursuance of recommendations of the Delhi War Conference.

11th. Conference at Shillong under Chief Commissioner to give effect to Delhi conference resolutions.

14th. Maharaja of Burdwan assumes charge of the Bengal Executive Council.

24th. Govt. of India resolution on local Self-Government issued.

25th. Sitting of the Bharat Itihas Sanshopak mandal at Poona under Mr. V. S. Khare.

29th. Bengal Government Resolution on the report of the administration of the Jail department 1917 published at Darjeeling.

June, 1918.

2nd. Birthday Honours list issued at Simla.
Second Indian War Loan opened.

3rd. Sir Subramaniya's letter to President Wilson referred to and interpellated in H. of Commons.

Second Indian War Loan Meeting at Calcutta under H. E. the Governor.

Big Home Rule league meeting at Hyderabad (Sind)

4th. Inaugural meeting of the Central Publicity Board at Simla under Sir William Vincent.

7th. Home Rule manifesto issued at Calcutta on Montagu Report.

10th. Bombay War Conference—Fiasco with Home Rulers.

13th. Bombay War Loan Meeting at Town Hall.

Maharaja Bikanir, Lord Sinha, Sir, J. Meston, nominated India's representative ; warmly welcomed at the Imperial War Conference.

16th. Home Rule anniversary meeting at Chittagong.

17th. Sitting of Bengal Internment advisory Committee

18th. The Subramania letter to Wilson—hotly discussed in House of Lords.

19th. First onset of the Influenza Epidemic at Bombay.

21st. Government of India announces grant of Army Commission to Indians.

22nd. First Gold Coin issued from Bombay Mint.

25th. Big Public Meeting at Calcutta under Mr. H. N. Dutt to pass a vote of confidence on Sir Subramaniya.

28th. Bombay Government resolution reviewing progress of Co-operative credit movement in Bombay during 1917—18.

30th. Home Rule league meeting at Bombay under Mrs. Naidu.

July 1918.

3rd. Bengal Legislative Council Session begins at Calcutta.

H. E. The Governor Presides a recruiting meeting at Surat.

4th. Bengal Provincial agricultural association met under H. E. The Governor.

8th. The Montagu—Chelmsford Reforms Report issued.

10th. Conference at the Indian Association convened by Mr. S. N. Banerjee who declared the Reform Scheme as acceptable.

14th. Extraordinary Session of Bengal Provincial conference under Hon. Mr. Chanda, to consider Reforms.

19th. The Rowlatt Committee's Report on Sedition issued.

Bombay National union refuse to accept the reform Scheme.

20th. Punjab Provincial muslim league met at Lahore to discuss Reform Scheme.

22nd. Terms of Army Commissions to Indians announced by Secretary of State in House of Commons.

23rd. Bombay Legislative Council—Bombay Municipal Act passed.

24th. Imperial War Conference at London—Resolution urging removal of Colour bar in Dominions and Reciprocity—Sir S. P. Sinha's speech.

25th. Moderate Manifesto accepting the Montford Reforms.

Special Congress Session Reception committee meeting at Bombay under Mr. Patel. Old moderates keep away.

27th. Mr. Montagu's Cambridge Speech on Indian Reforms.

Punjab Provincial conference at Amritsar under Mr. Duni Chand.

Special Congress Session Executive Meeting at Bombay.

28th. Special Punjab provincial conference to consider the Reforms.

Tanjore Special District conference under Mr. V. P. Madhaba Rao to discuss the reforms.

Chittoor special District conference under Mr. C. Duraiswamy Iyengar to discuss the Reforms.

29th. Meeting of Lady's branch, Home Rule League at Ahmedabad.

Bombay Council, at Poona—Budget statement.

District Conference at yeotmal under Mr. Alekar to discuss Reform Scheme.

Meeting of All India Moslem League council at Lucknow under Raja of Mahmudabad.

30th. Bombay Legislative Council—Poona, Rent bill referred.

31st. Sir S. P. Sinha made K. C.

Mr. B. N. Basu gets an audience with H. M. The King.

Debate in the Mahajan Sabha Hall at Madras under Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer Mrs. Besant dwells on the Montagu Report.

Madras Presidency association condemns Reform Proposals.

Bombay Council—Protest Resolution against Government Hill exodus ; hotly discussed and defeated.

August 1918.

1st. Bombay Legislative Council—Nonofficial Resolutions.

2nd. Bombay Legislative Council.

Mr. Tilak served with a notice under the Defence of India Act not to deliver any speech without permission by the District Magistrate at Poona.

3rd. Madras Provincial Conference under Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar.

4th. War Anniversary—celebrated by divine prayers at all places of worship.

Amraoti special District Conference disapproved Montford Scheme.

Special Session of the Bengal Presidency Moslem League at Calcutta under Mr. Fazlul Huq to consider Reform proposals.—disapproval of the reforms.

5th. Congress Reception Committee at Bombay—Sir D. Petit elected chairman.

Special Session of the Behar Provincial Conference at Bankipur under Mr. Mazarhul Haq.

6th. Indian Budget Debate in the House of Commons.
Debate on Indian Reforms in the House of Lords.

8th. Mr. Hasan Imam elected President of Special Congress.
Mr. Gandhi addresses a Home-rule league meeting at Surat.

9th. Meeting of Bengal Provincial Congress committee at Calcutta to discuss Reform Scheme.

10th. Manifesto of all India Moderate party supporting Montford Reforms.

Sindh special Provincial Conference.

Monster Meeting at Burdwan condemning Reform Scheme Mr. B. Chuckervarty's address.

11th. U. P Provincial Conference under Mr. P. N. Banerjee at Lucknow.

Central Province Special Provincial Conference at Akola under Mr. B. G. Horniman.

12th. Madras Provincial Congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak as President of Congress at Delhi.

United Province Legislative Council meets to discuss Reform Proposals.

15th. Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies at Simla.

16th. Meeting of the Moderates at the Indian Association to justify abstention from the Congress.

Burma Provincial Congress committee met at Rangoon.

18th. Raja of Bilaspur attached to 41 Dogras as Hon. Captain.
C. P. Provincial Congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak, President of Congress at Delhi.

19th. Conference of Directors of Civil Supplies under Sir Claude Hill at Nagpur.

Bengal Legislative Council met at Dacca under H. E. Governor.

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

21st. Moderates under Mr. Bannerji meet at Bombay—Sir D. Wacha elected Chairman of Reception Committee of All India moderate Conference.

H. E. The Governor holds a Durbar at Dacca.

22nd. Council of Servant of India Society decides to abstain from Special Congress.

24th. Judgment delivered in Mr. Vaidyas Case; 18 months rigorous imprisonment.

Stirring address of Mrs. Besant at the Morarji Goculdas Hall, Bombay on the special congress.

25th. Mr. F. Noyce appointed Cloth Controller.

26th Public meeting at the Indian Association on the cloth problem. Government appealed.

27th. Public meeting at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay under Mr. C. R. Das.

28th. Madras Tramway Strike.

29th. Indian National Congress—Special Session at Bombay under Mr. Hasan Imam.

30th. Special Congress resolutions passed.

Childens Party at Viceregal Lodge, Simla.

Hon'ble S. Bey appointed Chief-Justice, Hyderabad.

31st. Moslem League—Extraordinary Session at Bombay under Mahmudabad.

Bombay Provincial congress Committee elects Mr. Tilak, President of the Delhi Congress.

September 1918.

1st. Moslem League Resolutions.

Special Congress resolution on Reforms, moved by Malaviya and passed.

3rd. Government of India Circular on Elementary Education.

Conference at British Indian association to consider the high price of Cotton goods.

Bengal Legislative council—Hackney carriage Bill, Food Adulteration Bill, Juvenile Smoking Bill Etc.

4th. Imperial Council Autumn Session; Viceroy's Speech on Reforms. Collection of taxes Bill, Paper Currency Bill, Non-ferrous Metal Bill, Insolvency Bill, Cheap Cotton cloth Bill introduced.

The Jain Community met at Calcutta to protest against the removal of khandagiri images by the Behar Government.

5th. Imperial Legislative council—Patel's Hindu Marriage Bill introduced. Khaparde on the Sedition Committee report.

- 6th.** Imperial Council—Reforms debate. Hon'ble Mr. Bannerjes Resolution supporting Montford Scheme.
- 7th.** Imperial Council—Debate on Bannerjis Resolution which is passed.
Death of Sir Ratan Tata of Bombay in London.
- 9th.** Imperial Council—Finance Member (W. Meyer) moves for India bearing further Military cost.
- 10th.** Imperial Council—Finance Members motion adopted.
Food Riots at various part of Madras Presidency.
- 11th.** Imperial Council—
H. M. the king received the Indian Labour Corps.
- 13th.** Mr Bannerjes manifesto on moderate conference.
- 14th.** Bengal Presidency Moslem meeting at Calcutta under Mr. Fazlul Haq to protest against the Government order prohibiting moslem meetings.
- 16th.** Chandavarkar, Beachcroft internment advisory Committee report out.
Mahomedan Deputation to Governor of Bengal about their prohibited meeting prior to the great Bakrid Riot in Calcutta.
- 18th.** Imperial Council, Simla—Taxes Bill. Metal Bills, Indian army Bill passed—I. D. F. amendment Bill. Bronze Coin Bill introduced.
- 19th.** Imperial Council—Non-official resolutions
- 20th.** "India Day" in London, to raise £50,000 for Indian troops.
- 22nd.** Bombay Legislative council—Government explains measures taken on shortage of food grains—District police Act, Municipal Act passed.
- 23rd.** Imperial Council—Debate on Rowlatt Report.
- 24th.** Bombay Legislative Council—Rent Bill discussed.
Imp. Council—Non-official Resolution on Rowlatt Report defeated.
- 25th.** H. M. The Kings message to Viceroy on Recruiting, Bombay Legislative Council—Rent Bill passed.
Imperial Council—Hon. Shafis resolution conveying thanks to War Council passed.
- 26th.** Imperial Council—Viceroy's speech—Companies Bill, I. D. F. Bill, Bronze Coin Bill, Industrial Bill passed.
Mr. Hasan Imam, Presid. Nat. Congress, interviews Viceroy at Simla re Congress Deputation to England—Passport not granted.
- 27th.** Franchise and Function committees appointed with Lord Southborough as president.
- 30th.** All India Mahomed. Educational Conference met.

October 1918

1st. Bombay Parsi community views on Reform Scheme discussed.

2nd. Home-Rule League meeting under Mr. P. K. Telang at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay. Mr. J. Dwarkadas lectures on the present Political Situation.

Bengal Chamber of Commerce met at Calcutta, Hon. Mr. Ironside presiding. The Chamber opined that the Montford Scheme was premature and disastrous to the people and the Indian Empire.

4th. Special Session of the Travancore Mahajan Sabha with Dewan Bahadur A. Govinda Pillai in the chair to discuss Montford Scheme in its bearing on the Native States.

5th. U. P. Provincial conference at Aligarh. Sir Harcourt Butler the Lieutenant Governor sends message wishing success to the conference.

6th. Hindu, Mahomedan Conference at the Bangiya Jana Sabha office. Mr. B. Chuckerburty presides.

7th. All India Public Holiday and Victory celebrations for allied Victory.

11th. Opening of the Mysore Exhibition by H. H. The Maharaja.

16th. H. E. H. The Nizam received new title from the king Emperor.

17th. Sir P. D. Pattani of India Council granted leave to Visit India.

18th. Arrival of Indian Journalists in London.

19th. First Convocation of Mysore University opened by the Maharaja. Address delivered by Sir Ashutosh mukherjee specially invited.

Indian Editors received by the King and Queen at Buckingham palace, London,

21st. Retirement of Justice Beaman from Bombay High Court.

22nd. Baroda Legislative assembly. Dewan announced 10 lakhs of Rupees granted by Maharaja to help the poor.

Madras Legislative Council special meeting. H. F. The Governor presiding. Montford report resolutions discussed.

Meeting of the Bombay Medical association to consider the Influenza Epidemic.

25th. First urban Co-operative conference in Rangoon.

28th. Special Session of Travancore Legislative council on municipal bill.

U-P-Legislative Council met at Lucknow.

30th. National thanksgiving and prayer at Benares at the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal.

Mr. Tilak and his Home Rule party reach London.

Report of Indian Industrial Commission issued.

31st. Viceroy visits Kashmir ; State Banquet at Srinagar.

November 1918

1st. First all India Moderates conference at Bombay Hon. Mr. S. Bannerje president, Hon. Sir D. Wacha, Chairman Reception committee—warm reception of Reform Scheme subject to certain changes suggested.

Lord Southborough and members of the reform committee arrived at Bombay.

2nd. Receipt of Indian Editors in England by Empire Press Union. Mr. Iyengar of "Hindu" and Mr. Ghose of "Basumati" plead Indian disabilities.

3rd. Sir S. ... returns from War conference to Calcutta and takes charge of office as member, executive council, Bengal.

4th. Big Public meeting in Gokhale Hall, Madras on current situation.

Travancore Legislative council—closing speech of Dewan reviewing the position of local self Government in the State.

All India Moslem league meeting at Calcutta. Government urged to enquire into the Calcutta riots.

5th. Sir James Meston succeeds Sir W. Meyer as Finance member, Government of India.

Strike of Railway employees in Lucknow.

6th. Honble Mr. Bhurji of Bombay wants full responsible Government at once in Bombay in his minute to the Report of Non-official member of Bombay Council.

Bombay Legislative Council—cotton control Bill discussed.

Second meeting of the Press Representatives in Mysore.

7th. Bombay Council.—Hon. Desai's resolution to enable women to become municipal commissioners carried by majority.

War Cabinets tribute to India for her services in the war.

Bengal Government's order re Rice control issued.

8th. Bombay Council,—non-official resolutions.

11th. Premier announces cessation of hostilities on all fronts. Armistice signed.

13th. Sir S. P. Sinha and Maharaja Bikaner selected to represent India in the Peace Conference.

14th. Bengal Legislative Council. H. E. Governor presides. Reform Scheme debate.

15th. H. E. Governor of Bengal delivers inaugural lecture at the Indian Museum Lecture Hall on "the effect of the war in developing industries in Bengal."

16th. Maharaja of Burdwan took charge of office as member, executive council, Bengal in place of Sir S. P. Sinha.

The Second Gujrat political conference met at Nadiad. Hon. Mr. Patel presides. Defects of Reform scheme shown.

18th. Hon. Pundit Malaviya accepts presidentship of Delhi Congress during next X'mas.

20th. Punjab Legislative Council, Reform scheme discussed.

All India Cow Conference at Delhi.

Indian Editors received at the India office.

21st. Madras University Convocation—Sir Thomas Holland's address to the Graduates.

22nd. Cancellation of restrictions of political work on Mr. Tilak in England.

Bombay National union protest against Government selection of India's delegates at the Peace Conference.

23rd. Great cricket match in Bombay between English team under Lord Willingdon and All India team under Patiala in aid of famine relief fund ended in a draw.

Provisions of proposed Excess profits tax published.

Honble Mr. Gillman, member, Reform Committee, died at Simla.

First Sitting of the Non-official commission at Calcutta to investigate into the Causes of the Calcutta disturbances.

24th. Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Congress Committee to elect representatives to the All India Congress Committee.

C. P. Provincial Congress Committee met at the Gokhale Memorial Hall and urges self-determination for India.

25th. Maharaja Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha leaves Bombay for England.

27th. Armistice celebrations throughout India.

Bengal Legislative council. Order of suppression of the Municipalities of Burdwan and Hoogly-Chinsura questioned.

Big Home-Rule meeting at the Monmohan theatre, Calcutta. speech of Mrs. Besant.

28th. Investiture by Viceroy of Maharaja Bharatpur with full powers.

H. E. The Governor opens the Sanitary Board special Conference at the Council Chamber, Calcutta. Dr. Chas. A. Bentley lectures on Hookworm Disease.

B. and O. Provincial legislative Council met at Bankipore.

29th. Victory-day Celebrations throughout India.

Big Relief meeting at the Town Hall, Bombay, **H. E.** The Governor presiding.

30th. First Convocation of the Patna University at Bankipore.

First Anniversary meeting of the Bose (Sir J. C.) Institute at Calcutta. **H. E.** The Governor Presides.

December 1918

2nd. Public meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras. Hon B. N. Sarma presides ; several resolutions including the request to allow Congress deputation to attend Peace Conference passed.

Death of Sir Gurudas Bannerjee, Ex-Judge, Bengal.

Bengal Provincial Congress committee met and passed resolutions requesting the Viceroy to send Congress delegates to the Peace Conference.

4th. Sri. Banga Dharmamandal met to protest against Patels Inter-Caste Marriage Bill. Raja Peary Mohan Muckerjee presides.

The Nattuko Tai Nagarthars association held a meeting at Madras to protest against the excess profits tax.

6th. All India Urdu Press Conference met at Delhi.

7th. C. P. Legislative council. Council adjourned Sine die.

9th. Bombay Legislative Council—Cotton control Bill debate.

10th. **H. E.** The Viceroy with party arrives at Calcutta. Closing of the Railway Conference Session at Delhi.

First Aeroplane from England—landed at Karachi—a Hadley-Page Biplane commanded by Gen. Salmond.

11th. Willingdon Memorial meeting at Bombay broken up in a scandalous fiasco.

12th. Fourth meeting of the Bombay Engineering Congress at Bombay.

14th. Convocation of the Calcutta University

15th. Behar and Orissa Provincial Congress committee met at Patna under Mr. S. Sinha.

16th. Sir George Lloyd, Governor-designate of Bombay lands at Bombay and takes charge of Office.

Calcutta University Convocation met under H. E. Viceroy the Chancellor, the Calcutta University Infantry Corps furnishing Guard of Honour. Chancellor's address.

19th. Bengal Council, Bengal Tenancy Bill, Juvenile Smoking Act.

24th. Annual meeting of the Gurukul academy.

26th. The Indian National Congress—33rd Session, at Delhi. President. Address of Pandit Malaviya—Presidential procession not allowed by Government. Sir Sankaran Nair, member Government of India Council attends.

All India Medical Conference met at Delhi, Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar presiding.

Theosophical Convocation—Lecture by Mrs. Annie Besant on Problems of Political Reconstruction.

27th. Congress Subject Committees deliberations at Delhi.

Fifth all India Hindu Conference at Delhi, Raja Rampal Singh President.

Mahomed. Educational Conference at Surat—32nd Sessions under Sir F. Rahimtoolah. Governor of Bombay sends message of sympathy.

28th. 3rd Session of the All India common language Conference at Delhi.

Ind. Nat. Congress—2nd Day, usual resolutions passed.

29th. Ind. Nat. Congress—Resolutions on Reform passed, full autonomy demanded—Mr. Shastri's amendments rejected.

30th. All India Moslem League at Delhi, Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, president, delivered Presidential address; strong speech of Dr Ansari, Chairman Recep. Committee.

Industrial Conference at Delhi,—Presidential address of Mr. J. B. Petit—strong criticism of Industrial com.'s Report.

Economic Conference at Bombay under Principal Austey.

Chronicle of Events 1919.

January 1919.

1st. All India Ladies Conference held at Delhi under Mrs Besant.

Proclamation Parade at Calcutta in presence of H. E. the Viceroy, H. E. the Commander-in-Chief and H. E. the Governor of Bengal.

Death of Revd. G. A. Lefroy D. D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan in India and Ceylon at Calcutta.

2nd. Viceroy visits Tata Steel Works at Sakchi.

H. M. the King sends message to H. E. the Commander-in-Chief appreciating the assurances of loyalty and devotion of the Indian Army.

3rd The C. U. infantry sports on the Ellenborough Course, Calcutta—Lady Sanderson distributed prizes.

The fourth and last meeting of the Engineers Conference in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—Sir T. Holland presides—resolutions to form an Indian Society passed—Rs. 24,000 subscribed on spot.

6th. The Indian Press Deputation arrived at Colombo by the S. S. Somali.

8th. Fanatical Moplah outbreak at Calicut—Several persons murdered and some Moplahs shot.

Keshab Chandra Sen Anniversary meeting at the University Institute Hall, Calcutta—H. E. the Governor presides.

9th. Big Mill strike in Bombay—100,000 men go out—nearly 75 out of 85 mills had to suspend work.

H. E. Lady Chelmsford left Delhi for England *enroute* Bombay.

First Session of the Baroda Representative Assembly presided over by the Dewan.

10th. Second Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society at Bombay opened by H. E. Sir George Lloyd.

11th. Calcutta University Senate meeting on the "Leakage Committee"—Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's movement that the Report of the Second Leakage Committee be confirmed, is accepted after a heated discussion.

13th. Conference of Governors, Lt. Governors, and Chief Commissioners at Delhi to discuss the Reform Scheme.

17th. **First Convocation of the Hindu University held at Benares**—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, the Chancellor of the University presides.

The Indian Science Congress sittings in the Institute of Science, Bombay.

18th. Deputation of the Bombay Mill strikers waited on the Governor—His Excellency listened very sympathetically to their grievances and promised to secure redress.

The Council of the C. U. Post-Graduate Teaching met in the Science College Hall to appreciate the honour of knighthood conferred on Dr. P. C. Roy by the Government.

Death of Prince John, the youngest son of H. M. the King.

20th. Mysore students presented address to Sir Rabindranath. H. E. the Viceroy opens the **Chiefs Conference** at Delhi.

Elevation to peerage of Sir S. P. Sinha, Under-Secretary of State for India, officially announced in London.

21st. Bombay Mill strike settled by 'concessions from millowners—other strikes continue.

Meeting of Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides—resolutions of thanks for appointment of Sir S. P. Sinha to be Under-Secretary of state passed.

23rd. 13th. All India Sub-Assistant Surgeon's Conference at Campbell Hospital, Calcutta—also indigenous Drugs Exhibition opened by Lord Ronaldshay.

24th. Informal investiture at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi for K. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., Etc.

U. P. Legislative Council met at Allahabad—Sir Harcourt Butler presides—resolutions of sympathy on the Death of Prince John passed.

25th. H. E. the Viceroy and People of India wire to His Majesty expressing grief and sympathy on the death of Prince John.

5th. Chiefs Conference at Delhi presided over by Viceroy—presentation of sword to Maharaja of Patiala.

26th. Allahabad University Convocation under Sir Harcourt Butler.

Annual sessions of Aurvedic and Unani Conference at Delhi.

The Hon. Mr. S. N. Bannerji unveiled portrait of the Late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji at Bombay.

30th. Big Protest Meeting of citizens of Madras against proposed Rowlatt Bills—cable sent to Prime-Minister, Peace Conference and Lord Sinha.

31st. Public meeting at the Town Hall, Calcutta, thanking Prime-Minister for appointing Lord Sinha as Under Secretary—Sir K. G. Gupta presides.

Bombay Ladies meeting to settle constitution of the women Council.

Annual meeting of Bombay Trades Association.

February, 1919.

1st. Protest meetings at Calcutta, Allahabad, Nagpur Etc on Rowlatt Bills.

2nd. Protest meeting at various places against the Rowlatt Bills. Committee to reform India Office appointed under Lord Crewe.

57th. Birth Day Anniversary of Swami Vivekanand at the University Institute, Calcutta—Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy presides.

3rd. Protest meeting at various places against the Rowlatt Bills.

Huge gathering of nearly 12,000 people at the Town Hall, Calcutta to protest against the Rowlatt Bills—Mr. B. Chuckerburty presides.

Professor J. W. Gregory of the Calcutta University Commission delivers an interesting and illustrated lecture at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta—Sir H. Wheeler presides.

5th. Madras Legislative Council—Governor presides—the Hon. Sir A. Cardev. presents the Draft Financial Statement for 1919—20 ; non-official Indian members protest against Rowlatt Bills.

Sir D. Wacha sends message of protest against Rowlatt Bills to Viceroy.

H. E. The Viceroy reviews Nepali Troops at Delhi—his speech appreciating their friendly services—investiture of Nepali Generals, Officers and rank of various honours.

Report of Indian Silk Industry published.

Annual Prize distribution of the Indian Sangit Sangha at Calcutta—H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore presides.

Madras Congress Committee meeting—representation at Peace Conference hotly discussed.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore visits Coimbatore—grand public reception and welcome.

6th. Imperial Legislative Council—first day ; opening speech by Viceroy—eulogistic reference to Baron Sinha—Rowlatt Bills moved by Sir W. Vincent.

9th. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief presides at the opening ceremony of the Canteen for Indian Soldiers in Queens Garden, Delhi

10th. Imperial Legislative Council—Viceroy presides—Rowlatt Bill introduced by Sir W. Vincent and after discussions referred to select Committee—Sir Sankaran Nair introduced Local Authorities Pension Bill.

Sixth session of the All India Muslim Ladies Conference in the Galstaun Park, Calcutta—Lady Khedev Jung Bahadur presides.

11th. Lord Sinha sworn in as Privy Councillor.

12th. The Secretary, European Association, Calcutta wires the Home Secretary, Government of India, Delhi protesting against the concession announced by Sir W. Vincent whereby the Emergency Powers Bill would be in force for three years only.

Madras Legislative Council—City Municipal Bill discussed.

13th. Death of Nawab Saiyad Muhammad at Royapetta, Madras.

Protest meeting at the Indian Association Hall, Calcutta on Rowlatt Bills.

14th. The Secretary, European Association, Calcutta issues the association's statement regarding the Rowlatt Bills and Reforms.

Final Polo Tournament at Delhi between the 21st. Lancers and Patiala team—Patiala wins by 2 goals—H. E. the Viceroy presents the Cup.

Public meeting at Gokhale Hall, Madras under Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao to protest against the I. C. S. memorandum regarding Reform Report.

15th. Bengal Co-operative Conference, Calcutta—the Governor presides.

H. E. The Viceroy at Kapurthala—State Banquet.

17th. Travancore Assembly.—Industrial Exhibition opened by the Maharaja.

19th. Travancore Popular Assembly—sittings for this and the next 8 days.

Imperial Legislative Council—Sir James Meston introduced Excess Profits Bill which was referred to Select Committee : likewise Sir W. Vincent's Poisons Bill.

20th. Tata Industrial Bank—first meeting of Directors at Bombay presenting last years report.

Annual meeting of Burma Chamber of Commerce.

21st. All India Vedic and Unani Tibbi Conference at Karachi. Tilak V. Chirol Privy Council case finished—Judgment in favour of Chirol.

Lord and Lady Jellicoe leaves Portsmouth for India on board the S. S. Newzealand.

23rd. Big public protest meeting against Rowlatt Bills at Madras—Mr. B C Pal's address.

Bombay Presidency Association public meeting under Sir D. Petit protesting against Rowlatt Bills.

H. H. the Maharaja and Maharani of Cooch Behar leave Calcutta for London enroute Colombo.

Annual meeting of Bengal Landholders Assocn. at Calcutta—H. H. Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy presides.

24th. Congratulatory meeting of Indian residents in London under Sir M. Bhawanagree at Westminster and banquet to Lord Sinha for his elevation.

Rhodes Lecture by Sir J. D. Rees M. P. on Indian Institutions at University College, London—Lord Sinha presides.

H. E. the Governor of Bengal presides at the Annual Convocation of East Bengal Saraswat Samaj at Dacca.

25th. Big protest meeting against Rowlatt Bills at Madras—important speech by Mr. B. C. Pal.

Lord Sinha takes his seat in the House of Lords.

Annual meeting of the Bengal Automobile Association at Calcutta.

26th. Imperial Legislative Council—Hon. Mr. Patel's Electricity Bill and Neg. Instr. Act Amend Bill introduced; Local Authorities Bill passed.

Death of Sir Andrew Fraser, Ex-Lieut—Governor, Bengal (in England).

27th. Southborough Committee Report presented to Government of India—Lord Southborough and party leaves Delhi for England.

28th. Annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta.

March 1919.

1st. Imperial Council—Report of Select Committee Rowlatt Bill presented to Council by Sir W. Vincent; Hons. Malaviya, Patel, and Khaparde refused to sign the report, while Hons. Banerji, Shastri and Shafi sign with Note of Dissent saying that they are opposed to its principle—**Financial Statement of the year 1918-19** presented by Sir James Meston.

Raja of Muhammadabad resigns presidency of Muslim League.

3rd. Mr. Vijayraghavachari took office as the New Dewan of Cochin State.

4th. **Lord Sinha's maiden speech in the House of Lords.** reprimend to Lord Sydenham.

5th. **Government of India's despatch on the Indian Constitutional reforms to the Sec. of State.**

6th. Mr. Gandhi invited and interviewed by Viceroy about his Passive Resistance—Gandhi's firm attitude.

7th. Imperial Council—Annual meeting of the European Association, Calcutta under Mr. P. H. Buckland.

Punjab Council—Financial statement for 1919-20.

8th. Huge Public meeting in Madras protesting against Rowlatt Bills and taking Satyagraha vow—presided by Mr. V. Ramdas—Resolutions entering protest.

11th. Madras Council, first sitting presided by Governor (Lord Pentland). Debate in food control.

All India Landholders Deputation headed by Darbhanga presented Address to and received by the Viceroy, on its inauguration.

Mr. Tilak's representation to the Peace Conference, his letter to Georges Clemenceau the President of Peace Conference requesting him to place this representation before the Conference for favourable consideration.

12th. Imperial Council—The Rowlatt Bill debate—Viceroy's speech on same. Amendments and motion of Hons. Patel and Khaparde ruled out of order. Hon. Mr. Banerji's amend. for further reference and consideration hotly debated and defeated. Select Committee report on Excess profits tax presented.

13th. Punjab Council.

Burma Council—Budget presented.

Imperial Council—Rowlatt Bill discussed clause by clause, all amendments lost—strong non-official fight inch by inch.

14th. Imperial Council—Rowlatt Bill discussion continued Council sat whole day and night.

16th. Mysore Panchama Conference at Melkote, also Exhibition.

17th. Lord Willingdon entertained to a farewell reception by the Indian Social Club, London. His Lordships appeal for co-operation and trust.

18th. Imperial Council—

Lord Willingdon the Governor-elect of Madras left London for Madras Via Paris.

23rd. Gandhis Message to Satyagrahis to observe 6th April as day of fast.

27th. Bengal Legislative Council—Governor presides, Hon. Mr. Surendranath Roy's Bengal Primary Education Bill passed.

28th. Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah resigns his membership of the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy.

29th. The fifth Punjab Brahmin Conference at Lyallpur. Pt. Bhakur Dutt Sharma presides.

30th. Observation of Satyagraha throughout India as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills by fasting and closing shops. Unfortunate conflict of the people with the authorities in Delhi resulting in their calling in the military who fired at the mob with machine guns.

April 1919.

1st. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay unveiled the statues of Sir Rash Behary Ghose and late Sir Tarak Nath Palit, two very prominent benefactors of the Calcutta University at the University College of Science.

Launching of the first Sailing ship "Sanaton" at Chittagong.

3rd. Birth-day ceremony of H. F. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. Madras Legislative Council—Hon. Mr. Narasinha Iyer's resolution for the use of Vernacular by members in the Council lost.

4th. Dr. Varadarajalu Naidu acquitted by Madras H. C. of conviction for Sedition.

6th. All India National mourning and fast and suspension of business celebrated following Mr. Gandhis lead as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills.

Hon'ble Mr. B. D. Shukul resigns his membership of the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bills in his letter to H. E. the Viceroy.

National Education Week opened at Gokhale Hall, Madras by Dr. Subramania.

7th. Punjab Council—H. H. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's last Council speech denouncing Rowlatt agitation.

Madras Council—Budget Debate.

8th. Bengal Council—Village Self-Government Bill hotly discussed.

9th. Bengal Legislative Council, Village Self-Government Bill passed.

Mr. Gandhi arrested at Palwal, Gurgaon District on his way to Delhi by order of the Punjab Government and taken back home under escort.

Strike and mob demonstration at Ahmednagar due to Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

10th. H. E. Lord Willingdon assumes charge of the Governorship of Madras Presidency.

Punjab Engineering Congress at Lahore, H. H. Sir M. O'Dwyer presides.

Serious mob disturbance at Lahore and Amritsar caused by the deportation of Drs. S. Kitchlew and Satyapal and arrest of Mr. Gandhi, mob fired upon and dispersed, Bank burned down and Europeans murdered at Amritsar ; also at Ahmedabad where mills burnt down.

11th. Mr. Gandhi brought to Bombay and set free ; ordered not to leave Bombay Presidency ; in the evening he attends a huge meeting where he condemns the mob violence and disturbance.

Calcutta shops closed down and business suspended on Mr. Gandhis arrest.

12th. Retirement of Sir Basil Scott, Chief Justice, Bombay.
Great Satyagraha demonstration in Calcutta, Police fired on 'mob.'

Big meeting at Madras under Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyanger to protest against Government action in arresting Mr. Gandhi.

Remarkable letter of Sir Rabindranath to Mr. Gandhi eulogising latter's Satyagraha movement.

13th. H. E. The Governor of Bengal confers with the Marwari representatives at Calcutta regarding the passive resistance vow. protest against Governors warning to desist.

14th. Unrest and agitation throughout India Specially in Punjab and Ahmedabad district for the passing of the Rowlatt Bill.

Government of India resolution regarding the agitation caused by the passing of the Rowlatt Act issued at Simla. repression as remedy justified.

Government of India communique regarding rebellion in Punjab, Martial Law proclaimed.

Mr. Barron Chief Commissioner of Delhi convenes a meeting with the political leaders to consider steps to be taken to put a stop to the mob disturbances.

Big public meeting at Madras to consider the question of high prices.

Mr. Gandhis advice to the public to stop Hartal and to obey orders.

15th. Martial Law ordinance issued at Simla.

Mr. Gandhi condemns violence at a huge meeting in Ahmedabad.

16th. Meeting of the European and Indian citizens in Bombay on the invitation of Government, H. E. the Governor asks public co-operation to maintain law and order.

17th. Security of Rs. 5000 on the A. B. Patrica, Calcutta forfeited under Press Act, fresh deposit of Rs. 10,000 ordered.

18th. Mr. Gandhis telegram to suspend civil disobedience owing to the development of critical situation.

20th. Emergency meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay to discuss the situation caused by the Satyagraha movement. Pt. M. M. Malaviya presides.

24th. Bombay Provincial Conference at Ahmednagar, Mr. J. Baptista presides.

25th. Annual meeting of the Millowners Association at Bombay, Mr. C. N. Wadia presides.

Death of Mr. A. Sankariah, Dewan of Cochin.

26th. Mr. Horniman, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle" deported to England by order of Bombay Government.

27th. Security of "Bombay Chronicle" forfeited under Press Act.

Directors of "Bombay Chronicle" ordered to submit all matters to the Government before publication; Directors decide to suspend publication.

All India Moderate Conference Committee met at Calcutta. Mr. S. N. Banerji presides; resolutions condemning repressive measures passed.

29th. Congress deputation left for England to press Congress views on constitutional reforms.

May 1919.

1st. "At Home" gathering of Neo-Fabian Society at Madras to meet Mr. John Scurr; Mr. Scurr's useful and instructive sketch of the political situation in England.

2nd. Armed hostility of Amir of Afghanistan to British Government, manifesto at Khyber.

Meeting of the Madras Mahajan Sabha at Gokhale Hall to protest against the repressive policy of the Government; speeches of the Hon. Messrs T. Rangacharri, B. N. Sarma and others.

Mysore Representative assembly, closing speech of the Dewan, the new policy of the state defined.

3rd. Mr. Gandhi issues manifesto on nature of silent Satyagraha work done now.

Meeting of the Madras Labour Union; speech of Messrs B. P. Wadia, John Scurr and Mrs. Besant.

5th. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Calcutta; various resolutions dealing with the unrest in Punjab passed.

6th. Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor "Tribune" placed before the Martial Law Tribunal for publishing seditious articles.

Mr. Tilak speaks on Indian demands at a meeting at Caxton Hall London, Commander Wedgwood M. P. presides.

Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Education Society at Adyar, Mr. G. S. Arundale nominated Chairman during absence of Mrs. Besant in England.

Meetings of the Madras Tramway Mens Union; address presented to Mr. B. P. Wadia.

Mr. Gandhi's manifesto on the duty of a Satyagrahi.

7th. Farewell address to Mrs. Besant and Mr. Wadia at Madras

on the eve of their departure to England in connection with the Reforms scheme.

8th. Madras Provincial Educational Conference at St. Josephs College, Trichinopoly, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger presides ; indictment of Lord Pentland's Government on the very slow progress of education made under his regime.

Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Scurr left Madras for Bombay *enroute* England, addresses presented to them by the National Home Rule League.

9th. Afghan War.—enemy attempt to occupy British territory.

10th. H. E. the Viceroy's proclamation on the wanton aggression of the Amir of Afghanistan ; appeal for co-operation.

The second Annual session of the Majlis-ul-ulma conference at Tanjore, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim presides.

11 th. Hartal in Bombay—shops closed—Gandhi supervises—no disturbance.

All India Home-Rule League meeting—Mrs. Besant resigned presidentship—Jinnah elected.

Meeting of the Madras printer's Labour union at the Triplicane Beach ; Mr. G. H. Row presides.

12 th. Mr. S. N. Bannerjee, President, Moderate Conference left Calcutta for England.

Mysore Legislative Council at Bangalore, Income Tax Bill adjourned.

13 th. Maharaja Bikanir dwelt on the comradeship of India with the Dominions in a speech delivered at the Jubilee Dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute presided over by the Duke of Connaught.

15th. Imperial proclamation to the people of Afghanistan issued by H. E. the Viceroy ; a warning to Afghanistan.

17th. Post office Peons at Calcutta struck work.

21st. Sir Sankaran Nair resigned membership, Imperial Council, as a protest against Government action in Punjab.

22nd. Mr. Montagu's speech in the House of Commons on Indian reforms ; Budget debate.

23rd. Sir Sankaran Nair opens the Conference of medical experts at Simla to discuss Indian Public Health.

25th. Government of India despatch on constitutional Reforms published at Simla.

26th. Sir Edward Maclagan assumes charge of office as L. G. Punjab.

June 1919.

4th. Big public meeting at the Gokhale Hall, Madras to

protest against the Press Act ; Dewan Bahadur P. Kesava pillai presides.

5th. Second Reading of the Reforms Bill passed in the House of Commons without a division.

Annual Conference of the South Indian Missionary Association at Coonoor ; the Lord Bishop of Madras presides.

6th. Travancore Legislative Council at Trivandrum. Dewan presides. The Revenue Recovery Regulation Amendment Bill, The Land Improvement and Agricultural Loans Bill and the Survey and Boundaries Bill passed into law.

7th. Mysore forest officers conference opened by Mr. A. R. Bannerji, the acting Dewan at Mysore.

National Home Rule League meeting at Bombay ; Government of India despatch on the Reform scheme condemned.

8th. Public meeting of Ladies of Madras at the Soundarya Mahal to protest against the recommendations of the Franchise Committee and the Government of India to disqualify women for all purpose of representation under the Reform Bill.

9th. Birthday celebration of the Maharaja of Mysore.

H. H. Sir Edward Maclagan held a Durbar at Amritsar to distribute honours and rewards.

10th. Sir M. Visvesvaraya, Dewan of Mysore retires from service.

Mysore Economic Conference, Mr. A. R. Bannerjee the acting Dewan presides.

Annual meeting of the National Indian Association at London. Lord Carmichael presides. Mr. Bennett and Lord Sinha emphasise friendship and co-operation between Indians and British.

Mysore sanitary Conference opened at the Rangachari memorial Hall, Mysore ; Mr. H. H. Sahab, the third Council member presides.

11th. Congress deputation interviews with Mr. Montague, Lord Sinha and others on the Indian Reforms. Resolutions of the Delhi Congress pressed for.

The national College at Trichinopoly opened with pujas and prayers amidst chanting of Veda hymas ; the president Justice, Seshagiri Iyer's speech in declaring the college open.

12th. Meeting of the Madras War Fund subscribers at the Government House ; the president H. E. Lord Willingdon presents the statement of accounts.

Meeting of the Mysore Economic Conference ; expansion of Primary Education discussed.

13th. Representative gathering of the Leading citizens in the

Council Chamber, Madras to consider the arrangements for peace celebrations ; H. E. the Governor presides.

14th. Inaugural meeting of the Mysore Civil Service Association at Mysore ; Mr A. R. Bannerjea the acting Dewan presides.

Annual senate meeting of the Indian Womens University at the Ferguson College. Poona ; Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the Chancellor, presides.

18th. H. M. Amir of Afghanistans reply to H. E. the Viceroy accepting armistice terms.

Madras Provincial Conference reception committee elects the Hon. Raja Rajiswar Setupati of Ramnad as president.

19th. Serious train collision near Ferozabad station on the East Indian Railway, nearly 300 men perished

20th. **Mysore Legislative Council** at Bangalore ; Mysore Legislative Council Amendment Regulation passed, Budget discussion.

Death of Dewan Bahadur C. Ramanujam Chettiar at Madras.

22nd. Willingdon College at Bombay opened by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir C. H. Setalvad.

24th. Annual meeting of the St. Johns Ambulance Association at Simla. H. E. The Viceroy presides.

25th. H. E. Lady Lloyd visits the Indian Womens University at Poona.

29th. Serious train collision at Kinana station on the North Western Railway ; 36 passengers killed and 46 injured.

India and her Rulers.

The King Emperor.

His Most Excellent Majesty George the Fifth, by the Grace of God, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions. Defender of the Faith. Emperor of India.

The only surviving son of His late Majesty King Edward VII. and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra.

Born.—At Marlborough House, June 3, 1865.

Married.—Her serene Highness Princess Victoria Mary Augusta Loise Olga Pauline Claudine Agnes of Teck, July 3, 1893.

Succeeded.—To the throne, May 6, 1910.

Crowned.—At Westminster Abbey, June 22, 1911.

Issues :—

1. H.R.H. **Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patric David. Prince of Wales** and Earl of Chester, Duke of Cornwall, High Stewart of Windsor, K.G., G.M.M.G., G.M.B.E., M.C., R.N., *Born* June 23, 1894.

2. H. R. H. **Albert Fredrick Arthur George**, *Born*, December 14, 1895.

3. H. R. H. **Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary**, *Born* April. 25, 1897.

4. H. R. H. **Henry William Fredrick Albert**, *Born* March 31, 1900.

5. H. R. H. **George Edward Alexander Edmund**, *Born* December 20, 1902.

6. H. R. H. **John Charles Francis**, *Born* July 12, 1905, d January 18, 1919.

Ruling Chiefs of India.

RULING CHIEFS OF INDIA.

Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand Sq. Mile	Popula- tion in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
21	His Exalted Highness The Nizam of— Hyderabad, Sir Usman Ali Khan	1911	83	13,374	3,000	
Guns	His Highness the Maharaja of— Mysore, Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar	1895	29	5,806	1,600	223,333
"	Beroda, Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwar	1875	8.1	2,032	1,100	25,000
"	Gwalior, Sir Madhav Rao Scindia	1886	25	3,093	305	
19	Kashmir, Sir Pertab Singh	1885	84	3.68	750	
"	Travancore, Sir Balarama Varma	1885	7.1	3.4.8	761	54,123
"	Indore, Tukoji Rao Holkar	1903	9.4	1,004	40	
"	Kolhapore, Sir Sahu Chatterpati Maharaj	1894	3.2	833	382	
"	H. H. the Maharaja of Mewar, Sir Fateh Singh	1884	13	1,293	173	13,333
"	H. H. the Begum of Bhopal, Sultan Jehan Begum.	1901	6.9	730	200	
"	H. H. the Khan of Kalat, Sir Mahamud Khan.	1893	71	470	51	
"	His Highness the Maharaja of— Bikaner, Sir Ganga Singhji	1887	23	700	220	
17	Bharatpur, Sir Vrijandra Sawai Kishen Singh	1900	1.9	558	210	
"	Jaipur, Sir Madho Singh	1890	15	2,636	533	26,667
"	Kanuli, Sir Banwar Pal Deo	1886	1.2	146	40	
"	Jodhpur, Sir Sumar Singhji	—	34	2,057	440	6,533
"	Patiala, Sir Bupendra Singh	1900	5	1,407	488	
"	Rawla, Sir Venkal Raman Singhji	—	13	1,514	187	
"	H. H. the Nawab of Tonk, Sir Ibrahim Ali Khan	1867	2.5	303	180	
"	H. H. the Nawab of Bawalpur, H. Sadiq. Md. Khan Bdr.	1907	15	780	183	13,333
"	H. H. the Raja of Cochin, Sir Rama Varma	1914	1.3	916	254	8,00
"	H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi, Sir Raghubir Singh	1889	2.2	218	46	
"	H. H. the Maharao of Cutch, Sir Khengarji Sawai Bah.	1876	7.6	513	167	
"	" Ketah, Sir Umed Singhji	1869	5.6	639	324	15,648
"	"					

RULING CHIEFS OF INDIA

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Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Thousand sq. Mile	Popula- tion in- Thousand	Revenue in 1000 £	Tribute, etc.
15	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
"	Alwar, Sir Jay Singhji Sahab Bahadur	1892	3.1	791	233	
"	Datta, Lokendra Sir Govinda Singh	1907	.9	164	15	
"	Dewas, Sr., Sir Tukoji Rao Puar	1899	.4	74.1	25	
"	" Jr. Sir Malhar Rao Puar	1892	.4	63	25	
"	Dhar, Sir Udayji Rao Puar	1898	1.7	154	55	
"	Idar, Sir Dowlat Singhji	1911	1.6	202	44	
"	Khangarh, Sir Madan Singhji	1900	.8	87	55	
"	Orehia, Sir Pratap Singh	1874	2	330	60	
"	Sikkin, Tashi Nam Gyol	1914	2.8	87	15	
"	H. H. The Maharawal of Banawal, Sri Sambhu Singh	1913	1.6	165	15	
"	" Dungarpur, Sir Bijay Singhaji	1898	1.4	169	16	
"	" Jaipur, Sir Jawahar Singhaji	1914	1.6	202	44	
"	" Partabgarh, Sir Bachunath Singh	1890	.8	62	18	
"	H. H. The Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, Sir Uday Bhan Singh	1911	1.1	263	80	
"	H. H. The Mir of Khairpur, Sir Imam Bux Khan	1909	6	223	100	
"	H. H. The Maharao of Shirohi, Sir Kaibres Singhji	1875	1.9	189	34	
	His Highness the Maharaja of—					
13	Benares, Sir Probhurnayan Singh	1889	.8	345	112	12,007
"	Bhavnagar, Sir Bhavasingji Taket Singhji	1896	2.3	441	297	
"	Cooch Behar, Sir Jitendranarayan Bhoop	1913	1.3	592	164	
"	Dhrangadra, Sir Ghanashyam Singhji	1911	1.1	79	40	
"	Jind, Sir Ranbir Singh	1887	1.2	271	87	
"	Kapurthala, Sir Jagatjit Singh	1877	.6	268	107	8,723
"	Nawanagar, Sir Ranjit Singhji	1907	3.7	349	151	
"	Perbandar, Natar Singhji Bhavasingji	1908	.6	63	55	
"	H. H. The Raja of Ratlam, Sir Sajjan Singhji	1893	.6	75	60	
"	H. H. The Raja of Tiptura, Sir Narendra Kishore Der Manikya	1909	4	239	112	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Rampur, Sir Mahomed Hamid Ali	1899	.9	531	240	
"	" Junagar, Mahabat Khanji	1911	3.2	494	190	

RULING CHIEFS OF INDIA

Salutes	Name and Title.	Succeeded	Area in Sq. Mile.	Population in Thousand	Revenue in 1000 Rs.	Tribute, etc.
13	H. H. The Nawab of Jaora, Sir Mahamed Ifiqtar Alikhan	1895	5	75	50	
11	His Highness The Maharaja of—					
"	Ajmer, Sir Ranjor Singh Bahadur	1859	8	87	15	
"	Charkhari, Sri Ganga Singh Deo	1914	8	133	33	
"	Chatarpur, Sri Biewasath Singh	1897	1.1	166	30	
"	Manipur, Sri Caura Chand Singh	1891	8.4	246	30	
"	Jhalawar, Sir Bhawan Singh	1899	8	96	33	
"	Nabha, Sri Ripudaman Singhji	1911	9	248	108	
"	Panna, Sri Jadbendra Singh	1903	2.5	228	33	
"	Sirmoor, Amar Prakash Bahadur	1913	1.1	138	37	
"	Bijawar, Sir Sawant Singh					
"	Jhabua, Sri Uday Singhji					
"	His Highness The Raja of—					
"	Chamba, Sir Bhure Singh	1904	3	135	34	
"	Faridkot, Sri Brij Indar Singh	1906	6	130	74	
"	Mundi (Jalandar), Sri Joginder Sen	1913	1.2	181	39	
"	Podakota, Sir Martanda Bhairab Tandiman	1886	1.2	411	101	
"	Rajgarh, Sir Bir Indra Singhji	1916	1.5	218	12	
"	Rajppla, Sri Bijayvinhji Chhattarvinhji	1915	1.5	161	67	
"	Sailana, Sir Jaswant Singhji	1895	3	27	26	
"	Tehri, Lt. Narendra Shah	1913	4	301	44	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Gondal	1869	1	163	94	
"	H. H. The Thakur Shaheb of Marvi	1870	8	90	78	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Janjira	1879	3	89	33	
"	The Dewan of Palanpur	1877	1.7	226	35	
"	H. H. The Nawab of Booni, H. H. The Nawab of Cambay, Jafar Ali Khan.					
"	Jalaluddin Khanji, H. H. The Nawab of Malerkotla, Sir Muhammad Ahmed Ali Khan.					
"	of Naraingarh, Sir Arjun Singhji. H. H. The Raja of Suket, Sir Bhimsen. H. H. The Raja of Sitamau, Sir					
"	Ram Singhji. H. H. The Raja of Samthar, Sir Bir Singh Deo. H. H. The Raja of Kahur, Sri Bije Chand					

And 36 other Chiefs with 9 Cms

Government of India.

India Office List—1918.

Salaries of Chief Officers.

The following are the tables of salaries sanctioned for the Chief Officers of the Administration of India. They are, however, liable to variation.

	Pay per Annum Rs.
Viceroy and Governor-General	... 2,50,000
Governors of Madras, Bombay and Bengal	... 1,20,000
Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in India	... 1,00,000
Lieut. Governors of Behar. U.P., Punjab, and Burma	... 1,00,000
Members (6) of the Governor-General's Council	... 80,000
Chief Justice of Bengal	... 72,000
Chief Justices of Madras, Bombay, and the North-western Provinces	... 60,000
President, Railway Board	... 60,000 or 72,000
Comptroller and Auditor-General	... 54,000
Member, Railway Board	... 48,000
Secretaries to the Government of India in the Finance, Foreign, Home, Revenue and Agriculture, Commerce and Industry and Education Departments	... 48,000
Puisne Judges of the High Courts of Calcutta (15), Madras (6), Bombay (6), and the North-Western Provinces (6)	... 48,000
Chief Judge of the Chief Court, Punjab	... 48,000
Burma	... 48,000
Political Residents, 1st class	... 48,000
Bishop of Calcutta	... 45,977
Judges of the Chief Court, Punjab (4), and Burma (4), except Chief Judges	... 42,000
1 Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs	... 42,000 to 48,000
Secretaries to the Government of India in the Army and Public works and Legislative Department	... 42,000
Controller or Currency	... 36,000 to 42,000
1 Chief Commissioner of Delhi	... 36,000
1 Director, Criminal Intelligence	... 36,000
1 Director-General, Indian Medical Service	... 36,000
Surveyor-General, Survey of India	... 36,000
Educational Commissioner	... 33,000 to 36,000
Superintendent of Port Blair	... 30,000 to 36,000
2 Accountants-General Class I	... 38,000

SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

2 Political Residents, 2nd class	33,000
Inspector-General of Forests	31,800
3 Accountants-General, Class II	30,000
3 Postmasters General	30,000
Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India	24,000 to 30,000
Political Officers on time scale	5,400 to 38,800
4 Accountants-General class III	27,000
3 Postmasters-General	27,000
Deputy Secretaries to the Government of India in the Finance and Foreign Departments	27,000
Controller of Stationery and Printing	18,000, to 27,000
Bishop of Madras	26,000
Bishop of Bombay	26,000
Private Secretary to Viceroy	27,000
3 Postmasters-General	24,000
1 Deputy Director, Criminal Intelligence	18,000 to 24,000
1 Chief Inspector of Mines in India	21,000 to 24,200
Administrator-General of Bengal	24,000
1 Director-General of Commercial Intelligence	24,000
1 Director, Geological Survey of India	24,000
1 Director-General of Archaeology in India	20,400
Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp to Viceroy	18,000
Military Secretary to Commander-in-Chief in India	18,000
Private Secretaries to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	18,000
Surgeon to Viceroy	14,400
Surgeon to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	12,000
Military Secretary and Aid-de-Camp to Governors of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal	12,000
1 Commissioner of Northern India salt revenue	30,000
3 Postmasters General	24,000

Provincial Salaries:

Bengal.

Posts	No. of Indians.	Pay per Annum, Rs.
3 Members of Council	1	64,000
1 Member of the Board of Revenue		45,000
5 Commissioners of Divisions		35,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government		45,000
3 Secretaries to Government		33,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government		12,000
1 Excise Commissioner		21,600
1 Chairman of Corporation of Calcutta		30,000
1 Deputy ditto		12,000 to 18,000
1 Collector of Customs, Calcutta		24,600

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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		Pay per Annum. Rs.	
Posts	No. of Indians.		
13 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	3	...	27,000
13 " " 2nd " ...	...	...	21,000
14 " " 3rd " ...	3	...	18,000
17 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, 1st grade	1	...	10,800
17 " " 2nd " ...	2	...	8,400
—Assistant Magistrates and "Collectors" ...	3	...	4,800 to 6,000
3 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	1	...	36,000
16 " " " 2nd " ...	3	...	30,000
17 " " " 3rd " ...	6	...	24,000
1 Chief Judge, Presidency Courts of Small Causes		...	24,000 to 30,000
6 Judges " " " " 5		{	12,000 - 18,000 15,000 and 16,800
1 Advocate General	...	...	...
1 Solicitor to Government	...	...	...
1 Registrar, High Court	...	...	30,400
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	...	24,000 to 30,000
1 Private Secretary to H. E. The Governor	...	...	18,000
1 Director of Agriculture	...	...	18,000
1 Director of Land Records	...	...	18,000
1 Secretary of the Board of Revenue	...	...	18,000

Bihar and Orissa.

3 Members of the Executive Council	...	1	...	60,000
1 Member of the Board of Revenue	...	...	...	48,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	...	...	36,000
2 Secretaries to Government	...	...	...	27,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government	...	...	...	18,000
6 Commissioners	...	...	...	35,000
10 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	...	3	...	27,000
11 " " 2nd " ...	...	1	...	21,600
12 " " 3rd " ...	...	3	...	18,000
11 Joint Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, 1st grade	1	...	...	10,800
10 " " 2nd " ...	1	...	...	8,400
Assistant Magistrates and Collectors	...	...	...	4,800 to 6,000
2 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	...	...	...	36,000
5 " " 2nd " ...	...	...	...	30,000
6 " " 3rd " ...	...	3	...	24,000
1 Commissioner of Excise and Salt	...	...	...	17,280
1 Director of Land Records and Surveys	...	...	...	21,600
1 Director of Agriculture	...	...	...	18,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	...	...	24,000
1 Chief	...	...	...	27,000
2 Commissioners	...	...	...	...

SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

				Pay per Annum. Rs.
Assam.				
Posts			No. of Indians.	
2 Secretaries to Chief Commissioners	...	...	...	18,000 and 21,600
6 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	...	...	27,000
7 " " 2nd "	...	...	...	21,600
7 " " 3rd "	...	...	...	18,000
4 Assistant " 1st "	...	...	...	16,800
4 " " 2nd "	...	...	...	8,400
" " 3rd "	...	1	...	5,400 to 6,000
2 Under Secretaries to Chief Commissioner	...	...	...	12,000
1 District and Sessions Judge	...	...	...	30,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	...	...	27,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	...	...	15,000 to 18,000
1 Director of Land Records and Agriculture	...	...	...	18,000
1 Excise Commissioner	...	...	...	18,000
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.				
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	...	...	36,000
2 Members of the Board of Revenue	...	...	...	42,000
2 Secretaries to Government	...	...	...	20,000 and 22,000
1 Secretary to Board of Revenue	...	1	...	27,000
3 Under Secretaries to Government	...	...	...	12,000
9 Commissioners of Divisions	...	...	...	35,000
1 Commissioner for Kumaon	...	...	...	30,000
1 Opium Agent	...	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
19 Magistrates and Collectors, 1st grade	...	...	...	27,000
17 " " 2nd "	...	2	...	22,000
4 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	...	...	22,000
16 " " 2nd "	...	1	...	20,000
14 Joint Magistrates, 1st grade	...	1	...	12,000
8 Assistant Commissioners' 1st grade	...	1	...	9,600
21 Joint Magistrates and Assistant Commissioners, 2nd grade	...	...	...	8,400
—Assistant " " 5	...	...	...	4,800 to 6,000
3 Deputy Commissioners for Kumaon	...	...	...	12,000, 12,000 and 18,000
1 City Magistrate, Lucknow	...	...	...	12,000
1 Superintendent, Derha Dun	...	...	...	18,000
1 Judicial Commissioner	...	...	...	42,000
2 Additional Judicial Commissioners	...	1	...	40,000
2 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	...	1	...	36,000
7 " " 2nd "	...	...	...	30,000
7 " " 3rd "	...	...	...	27,000
10 " " 4th "	...	5	...	22,000
5 " " 5th "	...	1	...	20,000
1 Registrar, High Court	...	...	...	19,200
1 Inspector-General of Police	30,000 to 36,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	24,000

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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Pay per

Rs.

Posts	No. of		
1 Chief Secretary to Government	36,000
3 Secretaries to Government	...	18,000 18,000 and 21,000	...
3 Under Secretaries to Government	...	9,000, 12,000 and 12,000	...
1 Under Secretary, Police Department, and Inspector-General of Police	...	...	32,000
1 Under Secretary, Educational Department	...	...	21,000
2 Financial Commissioners	...	...	42,000
3 Secretaries to Financial Commissioners	...	12,000 and 18,000	...
5 Commissioners	...	...	33,000
14 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	...	...	27,000
14 " " 2nd "	4	...	21,000
14 " " 3rd "	3	...	18,000
14 Assistant Commissioners, 1st grade	1	...	16,000
14 " " 2nd "	...	...	8,400
16 " " 3rd "	1	...	6,000
2 District and Sessions Judges, 1st grade	...	...	33,000
4 " " 2nd "	3	...	30,000
7 " " 3rd "	...	...	27,000
10 " " 4th "	3	...	21,000
1 Sub-Judge and Judge, Small Cause Court, Simla	...	...	18,000
1 Registrar of the Chief Court	...	...	18,000
1 Legal Remembrancer	...	...	27,000
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	...	24,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	...	...	21,000
1 Chief Secretary to Government	...	...	36,000
2 Secretaries	...	...	27,000
3 Under Secretaries	...	...	6,000
2 Assistant Secretary	...	6,000 to 9,000	...
1 Financial Commissioner	...	...	42,000
1 Settlement Commissioner and Director of Land Records	...	...	32,000
1 Deputy Director of Land Records	...	...	19,200
1 Secretary to Financial Commissioner	...	...	18,000
1 Director of Agriculture	...	...	21,000
8 Commissioners of Division	...	...	33,000
18 Deputy Commissioners, 1st grade	1	...	27,000
18 " " 2nd "	1	...	21,000
18 " " 3rd "	...	...	18,000
13 Assistant	1st	...	12,000
13 " " 2nd "	...	...	8,400
10 " " 3rd "	...	...	7,200
1 Judicial Commissioner	...	...	...
2 Divisional Judge, 1st grade	...	...	...
1 " " 2nd "	...	...	...

SALARIES OF CHIEF OFFICERS

				Pay per Annum Rs.	
Posts		No. of Indians.			
2	Divisional Judge 3rd	...	...	...	27,000
2	" " 4th	...	...	...	21,600
8	District	...	4	...	18,400
1	Registrar, Chief Court, Lower Burma	...	...	...	8,000
1	Government Advocate	...	...	...	18,000 to 21,600
Central Provinces.					
1	Chief Commissioner	...	...	...	32,400
1	Chief Secretary	...	...	...	19,800, 24,000 and 30,000
3	Secretaries	...	...	...	31,800
2	Secretaries	...	...	...	8,400, 10,400, 12,000
4	Under Secretaries	...	...	...	6,960, 11,760
2	Assistant Secretaries	...	...	...	42,000
1	Financial Commissioner	...	...	...	33,000
5	Commissioners of Divisions	...	...	...	27,000
11	*Deputy Commissioners, 1st Class	...	...	...	21,600
12	" " 2nd	...	...	...	18,000
14	" " 2nd	...	...	...	10,800
12	Assistant " 1st	...	...	...	8,400
9	" " 2nd	...	...	...	4,800 to 6,000
9	" " 2nd	...	...	...	42,000
1	Judicial Commissioner	...	...	...	36,000
4	Additional Judicial Commissioners	...	...	...	21,600 and 33,000
12	District and Sessions Judges	...	...	...	27,000 to 33,000
1	Inspector-General of Police	...	...	...	18,000 to 24,000
1	Director of Public Instruction	...	...	...
Madras					
3	Members of Council	...	1	...	48,000
12	High Court Judge	...	...	...	45,000
1	First Member, Board of Revenue	...	...	...	42,000
1	Second Member	...	...	...	36,000
1	Third Member	...	...	...	36,000
1	Fourth Member	...	...	...	45,000
1	Chief Secretary to Government	...	...	...	36,000
1	Revenue Secretary to Government	...	...	...	36,000
1	Secretary to Government	...	1	...	18,000
1	Private Secretary to Governor	...	...	...	12,000
3	Under Secretaries to Government	...	1	...	18,000 to 21,600
1	Secretary to Commissioners of Land Revenues	...	...	...	18,000 to 21,600
1	Secretary to the Commissioners of Salt, &c.	...	...	...	24,000 to 36,000
23	District and Sessions Judges	...	4	...	18,000 to 21,600
1	Registrar, High Court	...	...	...	21,600
1	Advocate General	...	1	...	13,200
1	Government Solicitor	...	...	...	24,000
1	Chief Judge, Small Cause Court	...	...	...	21,600 to 24,000
1	Commissioner of Coorg	...	...	...

*Inclusive of 3 Secretaries.

Pay per Annum

Posts.	No. of Indians.		
1 Resident in Travancore and Cochin	...	...	22,600
1 Inspector-General of Police	...	...	30,000 to 36,000
9 Collectors, 1st grade	...	3	
14 " 2nd "	—	2	— 27,000
1 President, Corporation of Madras	—	—	— 21,600
6 Collectors, 3rd grade	—	1	— 21,600
17 Sub-Collectors and Joint Magistrates, 1st grade	1	—	— 14,400
16 " " " 2nd "	3	—	— 10,800
16 " " " 3rd "	1	—	— 8,400
Assistant Collectors and Magistrate	—	1	... 4,800 to 4,000
1 Director of Public Instruction	—	—	24,000 to 30,000
Bombay.			
3 Members of Council	—	1	—
1 Chief Secretary to Government			
1 Secretary to Government	—		
4 " " " "	—		
1 Private Secretary, to Governor—			
5 Under Secretaries to Government			
1 Inspector-General of Prisons			
1 Inspector-General of Police			
4 Commissioner of Divisions			
1 Commissioner in Sind	...		
1 Municipal Commissioner, Bombay			
13 Senior Collectors	...	1	
15 Junior " " " "	...	2	
9 Assistant Collectors, 1st grade	...	1	
17 " " " 2nd "	...	1	
18 " " " 3rd "	...	2	
1 Collector in Sind	...		
1 Assistant Commissioner in Sind	...		
1 Judicial Commissioner in Sind	...		
1 Additional Judicial Commissioner in Sind	...		
2 District and Sessions Judges—1st grade			
6 " " " 2nd "		1	
11 " " " 3rd "		2	
1 Prothonotary and Registrar, High Court			
1 Administrator General and Official Trustee			
1 Registrar, High Court	...		
1 Chief Judge, Small Cause Court	...		
1 Remembrancer of Legal Affairs	...		
1 Government Solicitor	...		
1 Advocate General	...		
1 Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar			
1 Resident and Senior Political Agent			
26 Political Officers on time scale of pay	5,400 to 10,800 &	11,400 to 1	
1 Director of Public Instruction	"	...	24,000 to 30,000

The Government of India.

THE HOME GOVERNMENT.

Secretary of State.

The Right Hon. Edwin S. Montagu, M.P.

Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Thomas W. Holderness, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha of Raipur

Assistant Under-Secretaries of State.

Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B.

Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B.

Council.

Sir William Duke, K.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.I.E.

Sir Charles Arnold White.

Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sir Charles S. Bayley, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.S.O.

William Didsbury Sheppard, C.I.E.

Sir Marshall Frederick Reid, C.I.E.

General Sir E. G. Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,

Sir James Bennett Brunyate, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan.

Sir Prabhachankar D. Pattani, K.C.I.E.

Bhupendranath Basu.

Frederick Cranford Goodenough.

Clerk of the Council, Sir Lionel Abrahams, K.C.B.

Deputy Clerk of the Council, James H. Seabrooke, C.I.E.

Private Secretary to the Secretary of State, C. H. Kisch.

Assistant Private Secretaries, A. L. R. Parsons, and Miss Freeth.

Political A.-D.-C. to the Secretary of State, Lieut.-Col. Sir J. R. Dunlop

Smith, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., C.I.E.

Private Secretary to Sir T. W. Holderness,—R. H. A. Carter.

Private Secretary to Lord Sinha,—W. R. Gourlay

Government of India.

Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

His Excellency the Right Hon. **BARON CHELMSFORD**, F.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.C.B.E., assumed charge of office, 6th April, 1916.

Council.

Sir G. S. Barnes, K.C.B. Took his seat, 6th April, 1916.

William Henry Hoare Vincent. Took his seat, 21st April, 1917.

James Scorgie Meston K.C.S.I.,

C. H. A. Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Took his seat, 5th July, 1915.

C. Sankaran Nair. Took his seat, 2nd November, 1915. Resigned, July '19.

Khan Bh. Mian Muhammad Shafi (Vice Sir Sankaran Nair—July '19).

G. R. Lowndes, K.C.S.I., Took his seat, 20th December, 1915.

Extraordinary Member—

H. E. Gen. Sir Charles Carmichael Monro, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India.

Secretaries to the Government of India

Dept. of Finance

Military Finance Dept.

Home Dept.

Revenue and Agricultural Dept.

Foreign and Political Dept.

Hon. H. F. Howard, C.I.E. I.C.S.

„ G. B. H. Fell, C.S.I. C.I.E.

„ Sir J. H. Duboulay, K.C.I.E.

„ R. A. Mant, I.C.S.,

„ Sir J. B. Wood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (Foreign); Hon. Sir A. H. Grant, K.C.I.E. C.S.I. I.C.S. (Political)

Dept. of Commerce and Industry

Public Works Dept.

Dept. of Education

Legislative Dept.

Railway Dept.

„ „ C. E. Low, C.I.E. I.C.S.

„ „ C. E. Rose, M.I.C.E.

„ „ Sir E. D. MacLagan, K.C.I.E.

„ „ A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E., I.C.S.

„ „ Sir Robert Gillan, K.C.S.I., I.C.S., (Presdt.) F. A. Hadow (Secy.)

Indian Munitions Board

„ Sir Thomas Holand, K.C.I.E. F.R.S. T. Ryan, C.I.E. (Secy.)

Personal staff of His Excellency the Viceroy.

Private secy.

Asst. pte. secy.

Milg. secy.

Parol. asst.

Comptlr. of the household.

J. L. Maffey, A.I.A., I.O.S.

Capt. W. Buchanan Middel

Lt. Col. R. Verney, Rifle Brigade

R. Parsons.

Maj. J. Mackenzie, C.I.E., 26th Sikhs

INDIAN LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Supreme Legislative Council

A.—Elected members—27.

N.	Electorate.
Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarna (Garu)	Non-official Member, Madras.
Mr. Srinivasa Sastri	Do do
Mr. V. J. Patel	Do Bombay.
Mr. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha	Do do
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee	Do Bengal.
Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur	Do do
Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru	Do U. P.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya	Do do
Sardar Bahadur Sundar Singh Majithia.	Do Punjab.
Maung Bah Too, C.I.E.	Do Burma.
Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay	Do Bihar and Orissa.
Mr. Kamini Kumar Chanda	Do Assam.
Gonesh Shri Krishna Khaparde	District Councils and Municipal Committees, C. P.
Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar	Landholders, Madras.
Khan Bahadur Sayad Allahando Shah	Do Bombay. (Gujarat.)
Maharaja Sir Manindra Chanda Nandi	Landholders, Bengal.
Raja Sir Rampal Singh, K.C.I.E.	Do United Provinces.
Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo	(Landholders of Agra.)
Rai Bahadur Bishan Dutt Shukul	Do Bihar and Orissa.
Khan Bahadur Mir Asad Ali Khan	Do Central Provinces.
Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah	Muhammadian Community, Madras
Mr. Abdur Rahim	Do Bombay.
Khan Bahadur Nawab Saiyid Nawab Ali Chaudhri	Do Bengal.
Raja Sir Muhammad Ali Muhammad Khan, K.C.I.E., Khan Bahadur, of Mahmudabad.	Do do
Mr. Masharuf Haque	Do United Provinces.
W. A. Ironside	Do Bihar and Orissa.
Mr. Malcolm N. Hogg	Bengal Chamber of Commerce.
	Bombay Chamber of Commerce.

B.—Nominated Members—33.

(a) OFFICIAL MEMBERS.	
Mr. A. R. Loftus-Tottenham	Madras.
Mr. F. J. Monahan	Bengal.
Mr. C. A. Kincaid, C.V.O.	Bombay.
Mr. E. H. C. Walsh	Bihar and Orissa.
Sir Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I.	The United Provinces.
Vasant	The Punjab.
1st-Lt. S. L. Aplin, C. I. E.	Burma.
Mr. F. S. A. Slecock, C. I. E.	Central Provinces.
Mr. W. J. Reid, C.S.I.	Assam.

Sir. J. S. Donald, K.C.I.F., C.S.I.	The N. W. F. Province.
Mr. C. H. Keateven	Government of India.
Mr. H. Sharp, C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. R. E. Holland C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. S. R. Hignell C.I.E.	Do.
Sir. E. D. MacLagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.	Do.
Mr. R. A. Mant.	Do.
Mr. F. C. Rose	Do.
Mr. A. P. Muddiman, C.I.E.	Do.
Surgeon-General W. R. Edwards	Do.
Mr. G. R. Clarke, O.B.E.	Do.
Sir R. W. Gillan, K.C.S.I.	Do.
Sir A. H. Grant, C.S.I., C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. G. B. H. Fell, C.I.E.	Do.
Major-General A. H. Bingley, C.B., C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. H. F. Howard, C.I.E.	Do.
Mr. J. P. Thompson	Do.
Sir J. H. Duboulay	Do.
Mr. C. E. Low	Do.

(b) Non-Official Members.

Sir Fasilbhoy Currimbhoy, Kt., C.I.E.	Indian Commercial Community.
Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi, C.I.E.	Muham. Com. Punjab.
Khan Zulfikar Ali Khan, C.S.I.	Landholders, Punjab.
Sub-Major and Hon. Capt. Ajabkhan, Sardar Bahadur, I.O.M.	
Sir G. M. Chitnavis, K.C.I.E.	

Present Constitution of the Council.

By the proviso to Regulation I for the Legislative Council of the Governor-General it is declared that it shall not be lawful for the Governor-General to nominate so many non-official persons that the majority of all the Members of the Council shall be non-officials.

Officials—

(a) Members of the Executive Council	...	...	7
(b) The Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner of the Province	...	...	1
(c) Nominated Members	...	...	27
	Total	...	35

Non-Officials—

(a) Electal Members	...	...	27
(b) Nominated Members	...	...	5
	Total	...	32

Official majority, exclusive of the Governor-General ... 3

The Government of Bombay.

Governor and President in Council.

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble Sir George Ambrose Lloyd, G. C. I. & D. S. O. Took his seat 16th December 1918.

Personal Staff.

Private Sec.—William Patrick Cowie, I. C. & *Mil. Secretary*—Lt.-Col. J. G. Greig. *Aide-de-Camp*—Major Arkwright.

Members of Council.

Mr. George Carmichael, C.A. L., I. C. & Mr. G. B. Curtis, C. & I., I. C. & Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Kt. C. I. E.

Additional Members of Council—Elected—21.

Mr. D. V. Belvi, B. A., LL. B.	Mr. Abdul Kadir alias Fakir Mohd. Sarder Dalabawa Raisingji, Thakor of Kervada.
Mr. G. M. Bhurgri, Bar-at-law.	Mr. Manmohandas Ramji Hora.
Mr. Sidhanath Dhouddoo Garud.	Mr. Sidney Julius Gillum.
Sardar Syed Ali El Edroos.	Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit, Bart.
Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta, M. A. LL. B.	Mr. Harchandras, B.A., LL.B.
Shaikh G. H. Hidayatallah, LL. B.	Mr. Sheriff Devji Kanji.
Sardar S. Cooposwami Mudaliar.	Mr. Pandurang Anant Desai.
Mr. M. D. Pomeroy Webb C.I.E., C.B.E.	Mr. Ebrahim Haroon Jaffar.
Mr. G. K. Parekh, B.A., LL.B.	Mr. Shridhar Balkrishna Upasani.
Rao saheb Harilal Desai.	
Mr. R. Parushottam Paranjpye.	

Nominated—22.

The Advocate General (<i>ex-officio</i>).	Mr. G. F. Keatings.
Mr. C. N. Soddon, I. C. &.	Mr. Henry Staveland Lawrence,
Mr. S. R. Arthur.	Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas Mehta,
Mr. Salebhi Karimji Barodawala.	Rao Bahadur V. S. Naik.
Mr. P. B. Cadell.	Khan Bahadur Pir Bakhsh <i>walad</i>
Mr. J. G. Covernton.	Mian Muhammad.
Dr. Cajetan Fernandes.	Mr. Frederick G. Pratt, I.C.S.
Dewan Bahadur Kashinath Ramchandra Godbole.	Mr. Phiroze C. Sethna.
Mr. Mahammad Haji Bhai.	Rao Bahadur G. K. Satha.
Mr. B. N. Kamat.	Mr. Parushottamdas Thakurdas.
Mr. J. D. Jenkins.	Surgeon-General R. W. S. Lyons.
	Rao Bhadur Tehchand Udhavdas.

Secretaries to Government.

<i>Political, Special and Judicial.</i>	L. Robertson, I.C.S.
<i>Dy. Secretary. Judicial and Political Departments (Temporary).</i>	James Cress, C.I.E., I.C.S. <i>Acting</i> ,
	J. E. O. Johns, I.C.S.

Revenue, Financial and Separate.

The Hon'ble Mr. Patrick Robert
Candell ; C.I.E., I.C.S.

*General, Educational, Marine and
Ecclesiastical.*

George Arthur Thomas, B.A., I.C.S.

*Legal Department and Remem-
brance of Legal Affairs.*

George Douglas French B.A., I.C.S.
Frederick St. John Gebbie (Ag.) and
R. J. Kent. (*Act. Joint Secretary*).

Public works Department.

The Government of Madras.

Governor and President-in-Council.

His Excellency the Rt. Hon. Lord Willingdon.

Personal Staff.

*Private Secy.,
Military Secy.,
Aides-de-Camp.*

T. E. Moir, I.C.S.
Captain W. S. E. Money
Capt. Lionel Meredith Peet,
Capt. R. G. S. Hale.
Commander A. S. Balfour.
Lt. John Caton Monina.
Risaldar Major Malik Sher Bahadur.
Hon. Capt. V. S. Alexander,
Sirdar Bahadur.
Major Frederick Fenn Elwes, C.I.E.
I.M.S.
Lt. D. E. Smith, I.A.B.O.

*Extra Aide-de-Camp,
Indian Aides-de-Camp.*

Surgeon.

Commandant of Body Guard,

Members of Council.

Divan Bahadur P. Rajagopala Achariyar, C.I.E. Mr. Lionel Davidson,
C.S.I., I.C.S. Sir A. G. Cardew, K. C.S.I., I.C.S.

Additional Members of Council—Elected—20.

Tiruvengana Ranga Achariyar.

Bhupatiraju Venkatapati Raju.

Rev. G. Pittendrig.

K. Chidambaramatha Mudaliar

A. Suryanarayana Rao Pantulu.

K. K. Raman Kavalappara Mappil
Nayar.

M. Ramchandra Rao Pantulu.

Yaqub Hasan, Sahab Bahadur.

A. Subba Krishna Rao Pantulu.

Ahmed Tambi Ghulam Muhiuddin
Marakkayar.

Pulamati Siva Rao.

A. Subbarayulu Reddiyar.

J. H. Thongar.

B. V. Narasimha Aiyar.

V. K. Ramanujohariyar.

K. Sadasiva Blat

Gordon Fraser.

Krishnaswami Rama Aiyangar.

Sir E. F. Barber.

B. Raja Rajaswara Setupathi, Raja
of Ramnad.

Nominated—19.

J. M. Turing.	S. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
L. E. Buckley.	Sir Ghulam Muhamad Ali.
H. S. Duncan.	The Most Rev. John Aalen.
R. A. Graham.	T. Richmond.
N. E. Marjoribanks.	Sir F. J. E. Spring, K.C.I.E.
S. B. Murray.	Rao Bahadur S. C. Ramanathan
W. J. Howley.	Chettiyar Muthayya Chetti.
Diwan Bahadur Raghunatha Rao.	Chettiyar.
Surg. Gen. G. G. Giffard C.S.I., I.M.S.	Rao Bahadur K. R. Suryanarayana-
Arthur Rowland Knapp.	murti Nayudu Garu.
Khan Bahadur Muhammad Aiz-ud-	Sri Sobha Chandra Singh Deo.
din Hussain.	

Secretaries to Government.

<i>Chief Secretary to Government,</i>	C. G. Todhunter, I.C.S., (on leave).
<i>Revenue: (Acting)</i>	Arthur Rowland Knapp.
<i>Local and Municipal, Education</i>	
<i>and Legislative,</i>	H. G. Stokes, C.I.E., I.C.S.
<i>Public works (General),</i>	S. B. Murray.
<i>Joint Secretary</i>	W. J. Howley.

Board of Revenue.

<i>First Member,</i>	L. E. Buckley.
<i>Second Member,</i>	Khan Bahadur Mahomed Asizuddin
	Hussain Saheb Bahadur, C.I.E., I.S.O.
<i>Third Member,</i>	R. A. Graham.
<i>Fourth Member,</i>	J. M. Turing.

The Government of Bengal.

GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT IN COUNCIL.

His Excellency The Rt. Hon. Lawrence John Lumley Dundas, Earl of Ronaldshay, G. C. I. E. Took his seat, 30th March 1917.

PERSONAL STAFF.

<i>Private Secretary.</i>	W. R. Gourlay, on special duty ;
	H. R. of Wilkinson.
<i>Secretary,</i>	Capt. Henry George Vaux.
<i>Surgeon,</i>	Major J. D. Sandes, I.M.S.
<i>Aides-de-Camp,</i>	Capt. R. W. Hyde, Lt. D. Balfour.

Honorary Aides-de-Camp,

Col. C. M. Pearce, V.D.; Commander
E. A. Constable, R.N.; Lt.-Col. R.
Glen, V.D.; Lt.-Col. G. F. Stoddart;
Lt.-Col. R. S. Hawkins, V.D.; Com-
mander Duncan Frederick Vines.
R. I. M.; Lt.-Col. D. A. Tyrie,
Col. C. H. Shepherd.
2nd Lt. C. B. Lyon.
Risaldar Fais Muhammad Khan.
Capt. P. V. Douvetill, I.A.B.O.

**Extra Aide-de-Camp,
Indian Aide-de-Camp,
Commander of Body Guard,**

Members of Council.

Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S. Took his seat on 9th April 1917.
Mr. John Gheat Cumming, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., 29th March 1918.
Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Kt., 8th June 1917.
Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., I.O.N., Maharajadharaja
Bahadur of Burdwan (Temporary.) 14th May 1918.

Nominated Officials—12.

Mr. James Donald.	Rai Priya Nath Mukharji Bahadur.
Mr. J. H. Kerr, C.I.E.	Mr. E. B. H. Panton.
Mr. C. H. Bompas.	Mr. C. F. Payne, I.C.S.
C. J. Stevenson Moore.	Surg.-General W. H. B. Robinson.
T. C. P. Gibbons.	Mr. W. C. Wordsworth.
L. S. S. O'Malley, L.C.S.	Mr. F. A. A. Cowley.

Nominated Non-officials—8.

Nawab Sir Asif Quadr Saiyid Wasif Ali Mirsa Khan Bahadur, K.C.V.O.
of Murshidabad.
Sir Rajendra Nath Mukharji, K.C.I.E.
Mr. James Mackenzie.
Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar.
Raja Hrishikesh Laha, C.I.E.
Mr. J. W. H. Hutchinson.
Mr. W. H. Heton Arden Wood, C.I.E.
Mr. Aminur Rahman.

Elected—27.

Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter.	Maulvi Abdul Kasem.
Babu Sib Narayan Mukharji.	Maulvi Abdul Kasem Fasil-ul-Haq.
Kumar Shib Shekhareeswar Ray.	Mr. Ashrafali Khan Choudhuri.
Babu Brajendra Kishor Ray Choudhuri.	Khan Sahib Aman Ali.
Babu Arun Chandra Singh.	Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray.
Dr. Sir Deba Prosad Sarbadbhikari,	Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra.
Rai Radhakrishnan Pal Bahadur.	Mr. Altaf Ali.
Mr. F. W. Carter, C.I.E.	Rai Sri Nath Ray.
Mr. Walker Briskine Crum, C.B.E.	Babu Akhil Chandra Datta.
Rai Debendra Chandra Ghosh	Babu Surendra Nath Ray.
Bahadur.	Babu Mohendra Nath Ray.
Mr. Ernest Bruce Eden.	Babu Kabirol Bihari Datta.
Mr. H. E. A. Irwin.	Babu Kishori Mohan Choudhuri.
Dr. Abdulla-al-Mamun, Sahrawardy.	Mr. Ambika Chandra Masumdar

Secretariat

<i>Chief Secretary to Government.</i>	J. H. Kerr, C.I.E.
<i>Secretary, Revenue Department,</i>	L. Birley, C.I.E.
<i>Secretary, General Department,</i>	L. S. S. O'Malley.
<i>Secretary, Financial Department,</i>	J. Donald, C.I.E.
<i>Acting Secretary to the Council and</i>	
<i>Secretary Legislative Department,</i>	A. M. Hutchison.
<i>Secretary to Government, Public</i>	
<i>Works Department, and Chief</i>	
<i>Engineer,</i>	C. P. Walsh.
<i>Under Secretary to Government,</i>	
<i>Public Works Department (Civil</i>	
<i>Buildings Branch),</i>	G. A. Eason.

Board of Revenue.

Member, Charles James Stevenson-Moore.

The Government of U. P.

Administration.

Lieutenant-Governor, The Hon. Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler K.C.S.I.
C.I.E. Appointed 15th February 1918.
Private Secretary, T. Lister, I.C.S.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

President, The Lieutenant-Governor.
Vice-President, J. M. Holmes, C.S.I.

Members—45.

Nawab Muhammad Musammil-Ullah Khan, of Bhikampur.	Henry Mayne Reid Hopkyns.
Kunwar Aditya N. Singh, of Benares.	Sidney Reginald Daniels, I.C.S.
Frederick James Pert.	Tara Dat Gairoall.
Raja Sir Mahammad Tasadduk Rasool Khan, K.C.S.I.	Pandit Jagat Narayan.
Nawab Mumtaz-ud-daula.	Lala Madhusudan Dayal.
Sir Muhammad F. Ali Khan, K.C.I.E.	Munshi N. P. Ashthana.
K.C.V.O., C.S.I., of Fahanu.	Moti Lal Nehru.
Mr. Ludovic Charles Porter. C.S.I., C.I.E.	Rai Sadanand Pande Bahadur.
S. H. Fremantle.	Maharaja Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh.
Samuel Perry O'Donnell, I.C.S.	K.C.I.E. of Balrampur.
Atal Chandra Chatterji, I.C.S.	Raja Kushalpal Singh.
	Rai Ashthuja Prasad Bahadur.
	Saiyid Raza Ali.
	Rai Shankar Bahai Sahab.

Michael Keane, I.C.S.
George Gall Sim, I.C.S.
Herbert Morton Willmott.
Rai Janaki Prasad Bahadur.
Col. C. Macdaggart, C.I.E., I.M.S.
C. F. de la Fosse.
F. Mackinnon.
H. R. C. Hailey.
H. C. Ferard.
W. E. Crawshaw.
Rai Anand Sarup Bahadur.
James Rae Pearson, C.I.E.

Radha Kishan Daa.
C. Y. Chintamani.
Gokaran Nath Misra.
Sukbir Singh.
Raja Chandra Chur Singh.
Raja Moti Chand.
Nawab Muhammad Abdul Majid.
A. W. Ward.
Thomas Smith.
Saiyid Al-i-Nabi Khan Bahadur.
Sayid Wazir Hasan.

Secretariat.

Chief Secretary to Government,
Financial Secretary to Government,
Judicial Secretary to Government,
Secretary to Government, Public
Works Dept. (Buildings & Roads,
& Railways),
Secretary to Government, Public
Works Dept. (Irrigation).

A. C. Chatteji, I.C.S..
G. G. Sim, I.C.S..
M. Keane, I.C.S.

H. M. Willmott.

G. T. Barlow, C.I.E., (on leave); Offi-
ciating A.W.E., Standley.
F. E. Lowe, A. Grant, A. M. Jelly,
F. C. Richardson, C. St. L. Teyen
and F. L'E. Phipps.

Registrars.

Board of Revenue.

Members, J. M. Holms, C.S.I., J. S. Campbell. C.S.I., C.I.E.

The Government of Punjab.

Administration.

Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Edward Maclagan.

Personal Staff.

Private Secretary, Lieut.-Col. E. C. Bayley C.I.E., I.A.,
Honorary Aides-de-camp, Lieut.-Col. W. T. Wright, Hony. Capt. Ghulam
Muhammad Khan, Hon. Capt. Surja, and Hon. Capt. Bishan Singh.

Legislative Council.

President, The Lieutenant-Governor.

Members.

Nominated—18.

H. J. Maynard, C.S.I., I.C.S.

B. W. Aikman.

O. F. Lumsden, I.C.S.

J. A. Richey.

H. D. Craik, I.C.S.

C. A. H. Townsend, I.C.S.

C. J. Hallifax, C.B.E., I.C.S.

Col. R. C. Mac Watt

Sardar Bahadur Gajjan Singh.

Khwajah Yusuf Shah, Khan Bahadur.

Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Das, C.I.E.

Rai Bahadur Pandit Shoo Narayan.

Nawab Sir Bahram Khan.

E. W. Parker.

Sardar Gopal Singh.

Elected—11.

J. Currie.

Lala Jowhar Lal Bhargava.

Raisada Bhagat Ram.

Sayad Makhdum Rajan Shah.

Dewan Bahadur Dewan Daulat Rai.

Bakhshi Sohan Lal of Lahore.

Malik Muhammad Amin Khan of Shamsabad.

Chaudhri Lal Chand.

Khan Sahib Mirza Ikram Ullah Khan.

Khan Bahadur Sayad Mehdi Shah.

Khan Bahadur Mian Fasl-i-Hussain.

Secretariat.

*Chief Secretary,**Revenue Secretary,**Financial Secretary,**Registrar,*

J. P. Thompson, I.C.S.

H. D. Craik, I.C.S.

O. F. Lumsden.

James Alfred Weston.

Public Works Department.

*Irrigation Branch.**Secretaries, F. W. Woods ; W. F. Holms.**Buildings and Roads Branch.**Secretary, D. V. Aikman, C.I.E.*

Revenue Department.

*Financial Commissioners,*H. J. Maynard, I.C.S., on leave,
and P. J. Fagan, I.C.S.*Director of Agriculture and Industries,**Director of Land Record, Inspector-Genl. of Registration and Registrar-General,*

C. A. H. Townsend B.A., I.C.S.

D. J. Boyd.

The Government of Burma.

Administration.

*Lieutenant-Governor,**Private Secretary,*

Sir Reginald Craddock, K.C.S.I.

Major W. L. Mends, I.A.

*Aide-de-Camp,
Honorary Aide-de-Camp,
Indian Aide-de-Camp,*

IA. L. C. Graves.
Lt. Col. J. L. W. French-Mullen, C.I.E.
Hon. Capt. Musaffar Khan,
Sardar Bahadur.
Hon. Capt. Amar Singh,
Rai Bahadur.
Subadar Maung Aung Bwin.

Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Officials—5.

W. J. Keith. Walter Francis Rice. H. Thompson. Charles M. Webb
I.C.S. C. H. Wollaston.

Non-Officials—10.

Dr. Nasarwanji Nowroji Parakh
Lim Chin Tsong.
Sir Sao Mawng, C.I.E.
Abdul Karim Abdul Shakur Jamal,
C.I.E.

Francis Foster Goodliffe.
Maung Po Tha.
Dr. Sen Crombie Po, M.D.
E. O. Anderson.
J. E. Du Bern.
Maung Nyun.

Secretariat.

*Chief Secretary,
Revenue Secretary,
Secretary, P. W. D.,
Officiating Joint Secretary, P. W. D.,
Financial Commissioner,
Senior Registrar,*

W. F. Rice, C.S.I., I.C.S.
W. J. Keith.
C. H. Wollaston.
B. M. Samuelson, C.I.E.
H. Thompson.
S. C. Buttery.

The Government of Bihar & Orissa

Administration

Lieutenant-Governor,

Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
Assumed charge of office, 19th November 1915.

Personal Staff.

*Private Secretary,
Aid-de-Camp,*

J. C. B. Drake, I.C.S.
W. E. Hitchcock.

Honorary Aides-de-Camp,

Hon. Capt. Sardar Bahadur Hira Singh. Subadar Major Sita Ram Singh.
Major A. T. Peppe and Major J. A. M. Wilson.

Executive Council.

Havilland Le Mesurier, C.S.I., C.I.E., Walter Maude, C.S.I.

I.C.S. Sir Syed Ali Imam, K.C.S.I., Tempy. Member.

Saiyid Sharf-ud-din.

Legislative Council*President,*

The Lieutenant-Governor.

Ex-Officio.

The Members of the Executive Council.

Nominated.**Officials—19.**

C. E. A. William Oldham.

E. G. Stanley.

J. G. Jennings.

Edward Lister, I.C.E.

J. F. Grunning.

James David Sifton, C.S.S.

Hugh Mcpherson.

Robert Thomas Dundas, C.I.E.

Blanchard Foley.

T. S. Macpherson.

Lt.-Col. J. C. S. Vaughan.

Donald Weston.

Stoner Forrest.

Col. G. J. Hamilton Bell.

F. Clayton.

Non-Officials—4.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Rameswar Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E.

Prasad Singh K.C.I.E.

Rev. A. Campbell, D.D.

Rai Bahadur Nishi Kanta Sen.

Elected—21

Raja Harihar Parshad Narayan Singh.

Bishnu Prasad.

Babu Maheshwar Parshad.

Dwarka Nath Rai Bahadur.

Kirtanand Singh.

Lachmi Prasad Singha.

Babu Ganesh Lal Pandit,

Braja Sundar Das.

Kumar Thakuraj G. Prasad Singh.

Sharat Chand Sen.

Julian Veitch Jameson.

Purnendu Narayan Singh.

Moula Saiyid Nurul Hasan.

Adit Prasad Singha.

Saiyid Ahmad Husain.

Kumar Sivanandan Persad Singh.

Robert Middleton Watson Smyth.

Babu Gopabandhu Das.

Saiyid Muhammad Naim.

Shyam Krishna Sahay.

Khawja Muhammad Nur.

Secretariat.

*Chief Secretary to Government,
Political, Appointment, and Edu-
cational Department,*

H. Mcpherson.

Secretary to Government, Financial and Municipal Department, J. D. Sitton.
Secretary to Government Revenue Department, E. Lster, C.I.E.,
Secretary to Government (P. W. D., Irrigation Branch, F. Clayton.
Buildings and Roads Branch, E.G. Stanley.

Board of Revenue.

Member, E. H. C. Walsh.

The Government of C. P.

Administration.

Chief Commissioner, Sir. B. Robertson, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., I.C.S., *Lt. D.,* apptd. 3rd Aug. 1912.
Personal Assistant, Capt. P. H. Champion.
Chief Secretary, The Hon'ble Cecil Upton Wills, I.C.S.
Second Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. H. C. Gowan, I.C.S.
Third Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. J. F. Dyer, I.C.S.
Legal Secretary, The Hon'ble Mr. C. S. Findlay, I.C.S.
Under Secretaries, Mr. N. J. Roughton, I.C.S. and Mr. A. Macleod, I.C.S.
Registrar, C. E. Higher, (on special duty) R. W. Hart, Officiating Registrar.
Secretary, Public Works Department (Irrigation Branch), The Hon'ble. Mr. A. J. Wadley ; (Roads and Buildings), Col. J. P. Blakeway, C.M.G., R.E.
Financial Commissioner, The Hon'ble Mr. H. A. Crump, C.S.I., I.C.S.
Officiating Financial Commissioner, The Hon'ble Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.

Barar.

Commissioner, The Hon'ble Mr. B. P. Standen, C.I.E., I.C.S.

Members of Council.

Nominated Members.

Officials—11.

Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., I.C.S.	Sir James Fergu, Son Dyer, I.C.S.
Bertram prior Standen, C.I.E. I.C.S.	Col. C.R. M. Green, M.D.
Sir Cecil Upton Wills.	Mr. Arthur Innes Mayhew.
Sir Alfred John Wadley.	Hyde Clarendon Gowan.
Sir C. G. Hughes Hallett.	George Paris Dick.
Charles Stewart Findlay, I.C.S.	

Non-Officials—4.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Muhammad Salamullah Khan, C.I.E.
 Mr. Sorabji Bomanji Mehta.
 Rai Bahadur Sir Bipin Krishna Bose, Kt., C.I.E.
 Rao Bahadur Madho Rao Ganesh Deshpande.

Elected Members—10.

The Hon'ble Mr. Moreswar Rao Dixit, B.A., Bar-at-Law.	Rai Sahib Cullianji Murarji Thacker. Bar-at-Law.
Rao Bahadur Narayan Rao Kelkar.	Mr. Seohar Raghubir Singh.
Mr. Pyare Lal Misra.	Mr. Shripad Balvant Tambe.
Mr. Manoharant Krishnarao Golwalkar.	Rao Sahib Ramchandra Vishnu Mahajani.
Rai Sahib Govind Lal Purohit.	Mr. Yeshwant Govind Deshpande.

The Government of Assam.

Administration.

Chief Commissioner, The Hon. Mr. Nicholas Dodd Beatson Bell, C.S.I., C.I.E., appointed 1st April 1918.
Personal Asst., Captain W. Lowry-Corry, I.A.
Chief Secretary, J. E. Webster, C.I.E.
Second Secretary, A. W. Botham.
Secretary, Public Works Department, F. E. Bull.
Inspector General of Registration, W. L. Scott, I.C.S.
Judges, Abdul Majid on leave, Henry Crawford Lidell.
Director of Public Instruction, J. R. Cunningham.
Inspector General of Police, Lt.-Col. D. Herbert.
Sanitary Commissioner, Major T. C. M. Young, M. B., I.M.S.
Comptroller, Financial Department, Philip Gordon Jacob, B.A.
Political Agent in Manipur, W. A. Cosgrave, I.C.S.
Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, Abdul Majid, B.A.
Director of Land Records and Agriculture, J. Moswinery.
Chief Inspector of Factories, L. H. Taffa.

Legislative Council.**Nominated Members—13**

Lieut.-Col. P. R. T. Gordon.	Rajendra Narayan Chaudhuri.
A. W. Botham, C.I.E.	Rai Nalini Kanta Ray Dastidar.
Lieut.-Colonel D. Herbert.	Munni Rias Baksh.

J. R. Cunningham. M.A.
Abdul Majid.
F. E. Bull.
A. B. Hawkins.

Col. H. E. Banatwala.
J. E. Webster.
A. Mellor.

Elected Members—11.

Bai Ghanasayam Barua.	Babu Radha Binod Das.
Maulvi Abdul Majid, Khan Bahadur.	Mr. B. St. J. Hickman.
Maulvi Saiyid Muhammad Sadulla,	M. Bakat Masumdar, Khan Bahadur.
Phanidhar Chandar Rai Bahadur,	Mr. H. Miller.
Mr. Tarun Ram Phukan.	Mr. Walter Mason.
Ramani Mohan Das.	

The Indian Judiciary.

High Court of Judicature, Bengal.

Judges of the High Court.

Chief Justice—

Hon. Sir Lancelot Sanderson, Kt, K.C.

Puisne Judges—

Hon. Sir J. G. Woodroffe, M.A. B.C.L., bar-at-law
 „ **Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, Kt, C.S.I., M.A., D.L.**
 „ **Sir C. W. Chitty, B.A., bar-at-law.**
 „ **Sir E. E. Fletcher, bar-at-law.**
 „ **Nalini Ranjan Chatterji, M.A. B.L.**
 „ **W. Teunon, I.C.S.**
 „ **Sir T. W. Richardson, I.C.S., bar-at-law**
 „ **Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, M.A., bar-at-law**
 „ **C. P. Beachcroft, I.C.S., offg.**
 „ **E. Greaves, bar-at-law**
 „ **H. Walsley**
 „ **R. B. Newbould**
 „ **Sir Syed Shamas-ul-Huda**
 „ **G. C. Rankin**
 „ **E. B. H. Panton**

Advoc.-genl, Hon. T. C. P. Gibbons, bar-at-law

Standing counsel, S. B. Das, bar-at-law. offg

Remembrancer, of legal affairs, H. P. Duval, I.C.S.

Govt. solctr, Hon. C. H. Kesteven

Senr. Govt. pleader, Ram Charan Mitra

Offl. trustee and administrator genl, Bengal, Alex. Kinney (offg.)

Offl. assigne, G. M. Falkner, Bar-at-law

Regtr. J. H. Hechle

Master and off. referees, N. Chatterji, bar-at-law
Regtr. in insolvency and in prize, M. Ramfry
Off. recvr, K. K. Shelley Bonerjee, bar-at-law
Clk. of the Crown for criminal. sess, W. A. Bonnaud Bar-at-law

High Court of Judicature, Madras.

Chief Justice, Hon. Sir Abdur Rahim, M. A., bar-at-law.

Permanent Judges—

Hon. Sir W. B. Ayling, *Kt*, I.C.S.
 „ F. Du Pre, Oldfield, I.C.S.
 „ T. Sadasiva Aiyar, M.L., Diwan Bahdur.
 „ C. G. Spencer, I.C.S.
 „ V. M. Coutts Trotter, bar-at-law
 Hon. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar, B.A., B.L.
 „ J. H. Bakewell, LL.B. (Cantab), bar-at-law
 on lve.

„ W. W. Phillips.

Temporary. Addtl. Judges—

„ C. V. Kumaraswami Sastri, B.A. B.L., Diwan Bahadur.
 „ C. F. Napier, bar-at-law
 „ C. Krishnan, offg.

Advt. genl Hon. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, B.A. B.L.

Regtr, high ct, C. G. Mackay, M.A. I.C.S.

*Depy. regtr, commr, and taxing offr, Original side ; and chf. clk, Insol-
 vency ct, J. R. Atkinson, attny. at-law.*

Depy. regtr, Appellate side, G. S. White. solctr,

Govt. Solctr, H. Brightwell.

Crown proagr, J. C. Adam, bar-at-law, on other duty ; C. S. Smith, actg.

*Govt. pleader, C. F. Napier, bar-at-law, on other duty ; V. Ramasami, B.A.B.L.
 Actg.*

Public proscr, E. R. Osborne, actg.

Admstr. genl. and offl. trustee, C. E. Odgers, M.A., B.C.L.

High Court of Judicature—Bombay

Chief Justice, Hon. Sir Basil Scott, Kt, M.A. (Oxon.), bar-at-law

Permanent Judges—

Hon. Sir Frank Clement Offley Beaman, *Kt*, I.C.S.

„ „ Sir Joseph John Heaton, *Kt*, I.C.S.

„ „ Lallubhai Asharam Shah, M.A., LL.B.

„ „ A. B. Marten, M.A., LL.D. bar-at-law

„ „ M. H. Weston Hayward, LL.B. bar-at-law

„ „ A. M. A. Kajiji, B.A., LL.B. bar-at-law, actg.

Advocate genl, Hon. Thomas Strangman, bar-at-law

Solctr. to Govt. and public proscr. Hon. E. F. Nicholson, J.P.

Admstr. genl. and offl. trustee, J. S. Slater, B.A., bar-at-law

Reporter, W. L. Weldin, B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law
Prothonotary, testamentary and admiralty regtr., A. M. A. Kajiji,
 B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law, J.P.
Master and regtr. in equity, H. H. Wadia, B.A.
Clk. of the crown, Henry Campbell, bar-at-law
Official assignee, B. N. Lang, B.A., LL.B., bar-at-law
Sheriff, Hon. Mahomed Hajeebhey

HIGH COURT OF JUDICATURE—United Provinces.

Chf. Justice, Hon. Sir Henry G. Richards, Kt. K.C., K.C.B.E.,
Puisne judges—

Hon. Sir G. E. Knox, Kt. LL.D., J.P., I.C.S.

„ Sir P. C. Ranerji, Kt. B.A., B.L., J.P.

„ W. Tudball, J.P., I.C.S.

„ Muhammad Rafiq, bar-at-law, J.P.

„ T. C. Piggot, J.P., I.C.S.

„ C. Walsh, K.C., bar-at-law, M.A., J.P.

Regtr., C. L. M. Smith

Depy. regtr., E. P. Blanchet

Asst. regtr., S. E. J. Mills.

Legal remembrancer, S. R. Daniels, J.P. I.C.S. Hon. D. R. Lyle, (*Actg.*)

Govt. advtc., A. E. Ryves, B.A., bar-at-law.

Asst. govt. advtc., R. Malcolmson

Law reporter, W. K. Porter, bar-at-law.

Asst. law reporter, J. M. Banerjee, bar-at-law.

Govt. pleader, Lalit Mohan Banerjee, M.A., LL.D.

JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER'S COURT, OUDH—Lucknow.

Judl. commr., B. Lindsay, I.C.S., on dejn ; L. Stuart, I.C.S. offg.,
1st addit. judl. commr., Rai Bahdr. Kanhaiya Lal M.A., LL.B., offg.
2nd addit. judl. commr., S. R. Daniels, I.C.S., offg.
Regtr., C. H. Cordaux, B.A., bar-at-law.

CHIEF COURT—Punjab.

Chf. Judge—Hon. Justice H. A. B. Rattigan, bar-at-law.
Judges—

Hon. W. Chevis, I. C. S.

H. Scott Smith, I.C.S.

Justice Shadi Lal

W. A. LeRomaine, I.C.S.

Tempy. addit. judges.

„ L. R. Leslie-Jones, I.C.S.

„ A. B. Broadway

„ S. Wilberforce.

„ C. Berman-Potman, B.A., bar-at-law.

Vid.—4†

Regtr., J. A. Ferguson, M.A.
Depty. regtr., H. B. Gillmore
Asst. regtr., A. D. Grindal

Law Dept.

Legal remembner., Hon. T. P. Ellis, M.A., I.C.S.
Asst. legal remembner., H. A. Herbert, advte.
Supdt., E. Samuel.
Isd. clk. Pt. Premnath.

HIGH COURT—Bihar and Orissa. Patna.

Chief Just., Hon. Sir Thomas Fredrick P. Dawson Miller, Kt., bar-at-law, K
Judges—

Hon. E. P. Champan, I.C.S. on furlo
 „ B. K. Mullick, I.C.S.
 „ F. R. Roe, I.C.S.
 Hon. Cecil Atkinson, K.C.
 „ Jawala Prasad
 „ Sir Ali Imam, bar-at-law (on depn).
 „ P. C. Manuk, bar-at-law (offg)
 „ W. S. Coutts, C.I.E., I.C.S., bart.-at-law, actg.
 „ P. R. Das, M.A., bar-at-law.

Legal remembner. Hon. T. S. Macpherson, I.C.S.
Addtl legal remembner., F. G. Rowland, I.C.S.
Gort. advte., Sultan Ahmad, bar-at-law.
Asst. gort. advte., Manahar Lal, bar-at-law.
Govt. pleader, Khan Bahdr. Saiyid Fakhruddin, B.L.
Registrar, W. S. Coutts, bar-at-law.
Depty. Registrar, Amrita Nath Mitra, M.A., B.L.

JUDICIAL COMMISSIONER'S COURT—Cent. Province.

Judl. commr., Sir H. V. Drake-Brockman, Kt., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), bar.
 at-law, I.C.S., J.P.
1st addtl. judl. commr., J. K. Batten, I.C.S., J.P.
2nd addtl. judl. commr., Jyotis Chandra Mittra, bar-at-law
3rd addtl. judl. commr., F. W. A. Prideaux, I.C.S., J.P., bar-at-law
Restr. to judl. commr., R. J. Jackson, J.P., I.C.S.
Depty. regtr., Rao Sahab K. G. Parande.

Law Officers.

Legal remembner., Hon. C. S. Findlay M.A. (Edin.), I.C.S., J.P.
Gort. advte. and standing counsel. Hon. G. P. Dick, C.I.E., bar-at-law.
Asst. legal remembner., H. S. Munje, M.A., LL.B.

The Government of Native States.

Travancore.

Ruler—H. H. SRI PADMANABHA DASA VANCHI SIR BALA RAMA
VARMA KULASEKHARA KIRITAPATI MANI SULTAN MAHARAJA
RAJA RAMMA RAJA BAHRU SHAMSHER JUNG, G.C.S.I.
G.C.I.E., F.M.C., M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.,

Office de l' Instruction Publique.

State Officers.

<i>Diwan</i> , Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A.B.L.	M.A., B.L. R. Krishna Pillai, B.A. B.L. and K. Narayanan. Pandulay B.A. B.L.
<i>Pr. secy. to Diwan</i> , K. Parameshwaran Pillai B.A. B.L.	<i>Asst. secy.</i> K. Venkata Row.
<i>Chf. Secy. to govt.</i> R. Mahadeva Aiyar, B.A.	S. Parameswara Aiyer, M.A., B.L.
<i>Under secy.</i> M. Raja Raja Varma	T. P. Ramesubha Aiyar, B.A. and R. Rammalingam Aiyar, B.A.

Legislative Council.

<i>Presdt.</i> Diwan Bahdr. M. Krishna Nair, B.A. B.L.	Rai Bahdr. K. V. Rangaswamy Iyengar, B.A. profsr. of history and economics; and John Kurian, B.A. B.C.E. ex. engr.
<i>Offl. members.</i> R. Mahadwa Iyer, B.A. chf. secy. to govt; V. Subba Aiyar, B.A. B.L. addtl. head sirkar wakil; N. Subrahmanya Aiyar, M.A. secy. Diwan peishkar;	<i>Non. offl. members</i> R. Govinda Menon, B.A.; M. Subramania Pillai K. A. Krishna Iyengar, B.A. B.L. R. Gopal Pillai, B.A. B.L. K. Parameswara Pillai, B.A. B.L.; Paul Danie; M.A. L.T.; and J. A. Richardson Secy K. Narayanan Pandulay, B.A. B.
N. Rajaram Rai, B.A.; I.C.Chacko, B.A. B.C.C. state geologist; N. Raman Pillay, B.A. excise. commar;	

High Court.

<i>Offl. chf. justice.</i> High ct. K. Ramm Menon, B.A. B.L. bar-at-law.	Iyengar, B.A. B.L. H. S. Chatfield, B.A. bar-at-law, and P. Cheriyan, B.A. B.L.
<i>Private judges.</i> R. Veraghava	

Bikaner.

Ruler :—MAJ.-GENL. H. H. MAHARAJAH RAJ RAJESHWAR NARENDRA
SHIROMANI SRI MAHARAJAH DHIRAJ SIE GANGA SINGHJI
BAHADUR, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D.

Heir-Apparent :—MAHARAJ KUMAR LIEUT SRI SADUL SINGHJI
BAHADUR

Secy., to H. H. Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A. F.R.E.S. F.S.S

Secy., Lt.-col. Kanwar Baney Singh of Motassar (hony. a.-d.-c. to H. H.)

State Administration.

Mokhma Khas

Vice-presdt. and pol. member of the State council, Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairun Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I.

Ordinary member, State council, Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri.

Home member, State council, Rai Bahdr. B. Kamta Prasad, B.A.

Reve. & fincc. member, State council G. D. Rudkin, I.C.S.

Public wks. member of the State council, Lt.col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Sadul Singh of Bagasen.

Mily. member, State council, Rao Bahdr. Bgdr-Genl. Thakur Hari Singh of Sattasar, O.B.E.

Hony. member, State council, Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan.

Personl. asst. reve. & fincc. member, Maharaj Sri Pirthisinghji Sahib

Secy. legtee. dept, Dwarka Singh, B.A.

Addtl. secy, legtee. dept, D. M. Nanavati, B.A., LL.B.

Secy, reve. & fincc. dept, B. Mathura Prasad, B.A.

Secy. State council, B. Naunehal Singh, B.A.

Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Col. Maharaj Sri Sir Bhairun Singhji Bahdr, K.C.S.I. :

Rao Bahdr. Raja Hari Singh of Mahajan ;

Rawat Man Singh of Rawatsar ;

Maj. Maharaj Sri Narayan Singhji Sahib,

Maharaj Sri Pirthi Singhji Sahib,

Rao Bahdr. Raja Jeoraj Singh of Reri ;

Rao Bahdr. Rao Jeoraj Singh of Pugal ;

Thakur Bijay Singh of Santhu ;

Thakur Sadul Singh of Jamana ;

Rao Bahdr. Thakur Kishen Singh of Rasana ;

Bgdr.-Genl, Rao Bahdr. Thakur Hari Singh of Bettasar, O.B.E ;
 Lt.-col. Rao Bahdr. Thakur Sadul Singh of Bagesar.
 Thakur Nawal Singh of Magrasar ;
 Rai Bahdr. Kamta Prasad, B.A ;
 D. M. Nanavati, B.A, LL.B ;
 G. D. Rudkin, I.O.S ;
 Rai Bahdr. Seth Biseshwar Dass Daga of Bikaner ;
 Seth Chand Mal Dhadha, C.I.E ;
 Seth Ram Rattan Dass of Bagri ;
 Seth Tola Ram Surana of Churu ;
 Seth Jawahir Mal Khemka of Ratangarh ;
 Seth Jagan Nath Thirani of Nohar ;
 Seth Sahib Ram Sarraf of Hanumangarh ;
 Pt. Jiwan Ram Harsha,
 Prohit Bakhtawar Singh,
 Sheikh Mohammed Ibrahim.
 Munshi Fateh Singh,
 B. Nihal Singh,
 K. Rustomji, M.A ;
 Pyare Kishen Wattal, M.A, F.R.E.S, F.S.S ;
 L. P. Lajoie,
 B. Nehal Chnd.
 Thakur Bhur Singh.
 Pt. Biseshwar Nath.
 Seth Shiva Ratan Mohta.
 Seth Ram Prasad Jagadhia of Sujangarh ;
 Seth Ganesh Dass Dadhanja of Sar darshahr ;
 Seth Gurmuk Rai Lahari-wala of Rajgarh ;
 Seth Likhmi Chand Nahta of Bhadra ;
 Rai Bahdr. Seth Hazari Mal of Dandhewala ;
 Rai Bahdr. Seth Ram Chandra Mantra of Rani ;
 Chowdhari Jagmal Saran of Ganeshgarh ;
 Chowdhari Bhai Uttam Singh of Samandnagar.
 Seth Daulat Ram Bhadani of Sri Dungargarh.

Chief Court.

Chf. judge. B. Nihal Singh.
Second judge. Munshi Fateh Singh.
Third judge. Sk. Mohammed Ibrahim.
Regtr Munshi Mohammed Ab-dullah, B.A.

Gwalior.

Rules:—H. H. MAHARAJA MUHTAR-UL-MULE, AZIM-UL-IQTIDAR, RAFI-
USH-SHAN, WALA SHIKOH, MOHATASHAM-I-DAURAN, UMADAT-UL-UMARA.
MAHARAJADIRAJA, HISAM-US-SALTANAT, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR
MADHAVA RAO SCINDIA, ALIJAH SHAHADUR, SRINATH, MANSUR-I-
ZAMAN, FIDWI-I-HAZARAT-MALIK-I-MU'AZZAM-I-RAFI-UD-
DAHAJA-I-INGLISTAN, G. C. S. I., G. C. V. O., A. D. C. To
H. M. THE KING-EMPEROR, LL.D. (Camb.) &
(Edn.), D.C.L. (Oxon.), PRO-CHANCELLOR,
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Pte. secy. Lt.-col. Dwarkanath Shankar Wagle. *Master of ceremonies,* Lt.-col. Sardar Yadao Rao Ghorpare, Feroji
Secy. Sheo Bakhsh *peschi offr.* Syed Jung, on lve, Capt. Sadashiv Rao
Mohammad Ali. *Regtr.* B. Sri Ram, Phuednis, offg
B.A.

Administration.

Majlis-khas.—Council.

Presdt. H. H. the Maharaja Scindia. *Ex-officio Members.* Sirdar Lt.-col. Appaji Rao Shitole Anklikar, C.I.E. Amir-ul-Umara Member for Reve and Agri; Shrimant Sadashiv Rao Khashe Sahab Pawur, Home member; Lt.-col. Kailas Narain Haksar, B.A., C.I.E.; Mashir-i-Khas Bahdr. Political member; Sardar Sahaibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, Muntasim-ud-Doula, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.), bar-at-law, Member of Municipity. Appeals; Yashvant Govind Apte, B.A., LL.M. & S. Finance Member; Abdul Karim Khan, M.A. (Allhd.), B.A., (Cantab.), bar-at-law. Member for law and justice; Col. G. R. Rajwade, inspr.-genl. Gwalior army and ex-officio army member; Rai Bahdur. Munshi (Gajpat Rai Muntazim Bahadur Member of trade, custom and excise; and H. M. Bull, M.A. (Cantab) Member of Educn. and

Extra Members.

Sardar Lt.-col. Sir Michael Filose. Scindia. Madar-ul-Moham, C.V.O.; K.C.I.E., K.A.S.; Sardar Rao Raja Mir Ann Ali, bar-at-law; Rao Bahdr. Raghunath Rao Dinkar Mashir-i- Raoji Janardau Bhide, B.A.; Munta- Khas Bahdr. Madar-ul-Moham, C.I.E.; zim Bahdr. and Rao Bahdr, Shiyam Sardar Balwant Rao Bhariya sahib Sundar Lal, B.A., C.I.E., F.A.C., on lve.

Baroda.

Ruler :—H. H. FARZAND-I-KHAS-I-DAULAT-I-INGLISHIA MAHARAJA

SIR SAYAJI RAO, GAEKWAR SENA KHAS KHEL

SHAMSHER SHAHJAHAN, G.C.S.I.

Dewan. Manubhai N. Mehta, Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaekwar, Bar.-
M.A., LL.B. at-law; Vinayakrao Yadvrao
Naib-Dewans. Dewan Bahdr. Vanikar, M.A.

Executive Council.

Presdt. Manubhai N. Mehta, at-law; Vinayakrao Yadvrao
M.A., LL.B. Vanikar, M.A., & Anant Narayan
Councillors :—Dewan Bahdr. Datar, A.M. (Col.)
Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaekwar, Bar.

Legislative Council.

Presdt.—Manubhai Nandshanker
Mehta, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Dewan.

Members, ex-officio, Dewan
Bahadur Shrimant Ganpatrao Gaek-
war, Bar-at-law, naib-dewan, Nyaya-
bhag; Vinayakrao Yadvrao Vanikar,
M.A., naib-dewan. Mulikbhag,
Ganesh Balwant Ambegaoker, M.A.,
LL.B., legal remembrer; and Guna-
jirao Rojaba Nimbalker, B.A. Sar
Suba.

Nominated ex-officio, Khasherao
Bhagwantrao Jadhav, Esq., settlemt.
commr; Col. O. D. Rigg, off' genl
andg. Baroda Army; A. B. Clarke,
M.A., edctd. commr; Anant Narayan
Datar, B.A., LL.B., A.M., (Columbia),
sett, genl; & R. B. Govindbhai
Hathibhai Desai, M.A., LL.B. & F.R.A.,
joint Sar Suba, the commissioner
of excise commerce and agriculture.

Non Offs, Shrimant Dada Sahab
Ukhajirao Gaekwar, Shrimant Ana-
drao Yeshyantrao Raje Pandhre, Rao
Bahdr. Hargovindas Dwarkada
Kantawala, Girdharlal Dosabhai
Parikh, B.A., LL.B., and Mohamadali
Sharafali Horarwala, Sidhpur.

Elected :—Baroda Dist. Varaj-
bhai Patel, Kalidas Narandas Patel,
and Lallubhai Naranbhai Patel.

Kadi Dist. Mahasukbhai Chunilal
Sheth, Narayanji Chhanulal Dwivedi,
and Prohlalaji Shevakram.

Nasari Dist. Nathubhai Gulab-
bhai and Jannadas Ghelabhai.

Amreli Dist; Sundardas Narandas,
Rao Bahadur, B.A., LL.B., J.F. solctr.
and notary public.

The Nizam's Dominions—Hydrabad.

Ruler:—H. H. ANAFJAH MUZAFFARUL-MAMALIG NIZAM-UL-MULK
NIZAM-UD-DAULA NAWAB MIR SIR UASMAN
ALI, KHAN BAHADUR, FATEH
JANG, G.C.S.I.

Prime ministr
Peahkar, Raja Rajayan Raja Sir
Kishen Pershad Maharaja Bahadr.
Yamini-us-Sultanath, G.C.I.E.
Ddeptl. ministr.—
Nawab Safdar Jung Mushtir-nd-
Dowla Fakhr-ul-Mulk. Bahdr, police.

postal. and edctl. depts; R. I. I.
Glancy, I.C.S. fincs. dept; Moulvi
Mohd. Anvarulla Khan Bahdr.
ecclesiastical dept; Mahd. Waliuddin.
Khan Sahib, mily dept; Mir Tilavat
Ali, Khan Sahib Sahibzada, B.A.P.,
M.D. muncl. and medl. depts

Cabinet Council.

Presdt—The Nizam.

Members—Nawab Fakhr-ul-Mulk. Bahdr;
Moulvi Mohd. Anvarulla Khan Bahdr
Mahd. Waliuddin Khan Sahib.

Secy. Mirza Nazir Beg.

Asst. Secy. Abdul Farah Syed Yusuf Hussainy.

Legislative Council.

Presdt—The Nizam.

Vice-presdt, Nawab Md. Vali-
uddin Khan Bahdr, Judl. Minister.

Offt. members. Syed Md. Ghulam
Jabbar, chf. justice; M. A. N. Hydari
B.A. Secy, judl, police and genl. depts;
Rao Bahdr. G. Krishnamachariar, B.A.
B.L. secy, leglve. dept; Fasiuddin
Ahmed Khan Sayeb, Secy. reve. dept;
Sayed Mehdi Hassan Bilgrami, M.A.
P. W. D. secy.; Nawab Nazir Jung
Bahdr., mily. secy.; Khan Bahdr.
Mirza Hyder Jivan Baig, puisne
judge; Nawab Emad Jung Bahdr.
police commr.; Dr. George Nundy.
M.A. LL.D. inspr. genl. of regtn. and

stamps; and Rai Baijnath. M.A., LL.B.
under-secy. leglve. dept.

Non-offt. members. Nawab Yasin
Jung Bahdr, asst. Secy. Sarfi Kha-
dept; Mukdam Mohiuddin Sahib.
Mir Majlis. Sir Kuraheed Jah's paigah;
Syed Abdulla Razir Sahib, Jagirdar
Abdul Latif Khan Sahib, Jagirdar
Pt. Gopal Rao, high ct. vakil; Sajju
Ali Abbasi Sahib, high ct. vakil
Inayet Hussein Khan Sahib, high ct
vakil; Kesha Rao, high ct. vakil
Mursu Mahmood Ali Beg Sahib, high
ct. vakil; Musiuddin Sahib, high ct.
vakil; and Mahomed Aagaa B.A.
Bar-at-law.

Mysore.

**Ruler :—H. H. SIR SREE KRISHNARAJA WADIYAR, Bahadur,
G. C. S. I. MAHARAJA OF MYSORE.**

**Yuvaraja, Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiydar Bahdr. G.C.I.E.
Yuvaraja of Mysore.**

**Dewan, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A., L.C.E., M. Inst. C.E. K.C.I.E., Retd., 1910.
R. D. M. Kantaraja Urs, apptd. 1919.**

The Council.

**Dewan & presdt. in Council, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, B.A., L.C.E., M. Inst. C.E.
K.C.I.E. (Retd.). M. Kantaraja Urs, 1919.**

**Extraordinary Member of Council—Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja
Wadiyar, Bahdr. G.C.I.E. Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the
Mysore University.**

**Members of Council, 1st member, Rajaseva Dhurina M. Kantaraj Urs, B.A.
C.S.I.**

2nd member, Albion Raj Kumar Banerji, M.A., L.C.S. C.I.E.

Actg. 2nd member, P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L.

Legislative Council.

Officials.—

**Dewan Bahdr. J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S.; C. S. Doraswami Iyer,
B.A., B.L.; K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.; C. S. Balasundaram Iyer, B.A.; K.
Chandy, B.A.; Srinivasacharya Cadambi, B.A., L.C.E. C. R. Reddy, M.A.; Mir.
Humza Hussain, B.A., B.L.**

**Non-offi. members, Dewan Bahdr. K. P. Puttanna Chetty, C. I. E.;
M. Chengaiya Chetty, B.A. Nawab Gulam Ahmad Kalam, M. Basava
Iya, B.A., B.L.; B. Narasinga Rao, M. Karnik Krishnamurti Rao, C. Nara-
simhaiya, B.A., B.L.; B. K. Garudachar, M. Venkata Thrishnaiya, B.
Venkata Samanna, B.A., B.L.; S. Seetaramaiya, Rao Saheb H. Chennaiya and
L. Srinivasa Iyengar.**

Secretariat.

Secretaries—

**C. S. Balasunderam Iyer, B.A.
B. Ramaswamaiya, B.A., B.L.
P. G. D'Souza, B.A., B.L. edn &
agri. also secy. economic con-
ference.
G. Araramudu Iyengar, B.A., B.L.
masrai dept.
Diwan Bahdr. J. S. Chakravarti
M.A., F.R.A.S. finance dept.
Srinivasacharya Cadambi, B.A., L.C.
E., chf. P. W. D.**

**Rao Bahdr. K. Krishna Iyengar,
B.A., L.C.E., rys agt, on spl.
duty.**

Under secretaries—

**T. E. Jayarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.
S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.
N. Madhava Rao, B.A., B.L.
A. T. Ramanathan, B.A.
Ex officio, R. V. Sundaram Iyer,
B.A., B.C.E., A.C.E., depy. chf. engr.
T. Lakshminarasimha Rao, B.A.,
B.L., depy. agent, rlys. & chief
store-keeper.**

Indore State--Central India.

**Ruler :—H. H MAHARAJADEHIRAJ RAJ(RAJESHWAR SAWAI
SHRI TUKOJI RAO HOLKAR BAHADUR**

Heir-apparent :—PRINCE YESHWANT RAO HOLKAR.

Personal Staff of H. H.

Secy, Krishnarao Govind Reshimwale
2nd secy, Capt. Dinanath, bar-at-law
Milly. secy, Col. Madho Prasad Dube

State Council.

Presdt, Rai Bahdr. Maj. Rampershad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B
Members, Rao Bahdr. Genl. Govind Rao Matkar Bahdr ; Rai Bahdr.
S. M. Bapna, B.A, B. SC, LL. B ;
Rao Bahdr. Sardar M. V. Kibe. M.A, M.B.A.S ;
Rao Bahdr. B. P. Wagle and Rai Bahdr. Hirachand Kothari. secy.
Narhar Shankarrahalakar, B.A

Judicial Committee

Presdt, Rai Bahdr. Maj. Rampershad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B
Members, Rai Bahdr. Saraymal Bepna, B.A, B.SC, LL. B ;
Rao Bahdr. Sardar Madhavrao Vinayakrao Kibe, M.A, M.B.A.S ;
Laxman Gangadhar Bhaddhade, B.A. (Oxon.), bar-at-law ;
Damodar Vinayak Kirtane, bar-at-law ;
Jagmandarlal Jaini, M.A, bar-at-law.
Regtr, Matilal C. K. modia, B.A, bar-at-law

Chief Minister And Staff

Chf, ministr, Maj. Ramprasad Dube, M.A, B.SC, LL.B
Foreign secy, Lala Mathurial, B.A
Resdy. vakil, Shankar Trimbak Ranadive

Jaipur State—Rajputana.

Ruler :—MAJOR-GENL. H. H. SARMAH-I-RAJA-I-HINDUSTAN

RAJA RAJENDRA SRI MAHARAJA DHIRAJ SIR

SEWAL MADHO SING BAHADUR, G.C.S.I.,

G.C.I.R., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., LL.D. (Edin.)

Personal Staff of H. H.

Plc. secy.,—Assts. Ananda Pershad Banerji and Bepin Behari Gupta.

Personl. asst. to the plc. secy. S. C. Mozumdar, B.A.

Kpr. of State Jewels and Privy purse. Rai Bahadur Khawas Bala Bux.

Kpr. of robes. Khawas Ram Kumar

State Council

FOREIGN, MILA. AND MISC. DEPTS.—Hon. Nawab Muntazud-Dowla Sir Mohammad Faiyaz Ali Khan Bahadr, K.C.I.R., K.C.V.O., C.S.I.

Minister. Rai Bahadur Babu Abinash Chundar Sen and Rai Bahadur Purohit Gopinath M.A., C.I.E.

Judicial dept. Thakur Devi Singh of Chomu, Munshi Nand Kishore Singh, Sayed Md. Taqi Khan, Bahadur and Moulvi Ahmed Ali Khan.

Revenue dept. Baba Ishan Chandra Mukerji and Thakur Rup Singh of Vrila.

Police dept. Rai Bahadr, Purohit Gopinath, M.A., C.I.E.

Secy. Munshi Rampratap.

Mir Munshi. Munshi Kundan Lal.

Ad. clk. Syed Anlad Ali.

2nd clk. Choubhe Baij Nath, B.A.

Translator. Munshi Shive Narain Saksena, B.A.

Reglr. P. C. Chatterji.

Judges, appte. et. Thakur Kesari Singh of Achrol, Rai Bahadur Pandit Durga Pershad and Khan Bahadur Maulavi Rafiuddin.

Deans (Revenue Commr.). Eastern divn. Pandit Amar Nath Atal, M.A.

Western divn. Munshi Madho Singh, B.A.

Acctt.-genl. Sanjiban Tiangoli, M.A.

Supdt. Kurkhunajat. Seth Ram Nath.

Supdt. Customs. Syed Abdur Rahiman,

Treasy. offr. Seth Sagar Mal.

Treasr. Ramgopal.

Civil Judges, (Mukhtars, Adalat Dewani). Munshi Nanar Ram, B.A., L. B. and Munshi Hardeo Pershad.

City Magte Munshi Radha Mohan Lal, B.A.

Udaipur

(MEWAR)—Rajputana.

Ruler.—H. H. MAHARAJADHIRAJ MAHARANA SIR FATEH
SINGH BAHADUR, G.C.S.I, G.C.I.E.

Heir-Apparent.—MAHARAJ KUMAR SHRI BHOPAL SINGHJI BAHADUR

Ministers of Mahakmakhas.

Chf. ministr. Rao Bahdr. Sukhdeo Prasad. B.A, C.I.E, F.S.A. (Thakur of
Jasnager, Marwar).

Minstr. Mehtaji Jagannath Singhji.

Pte. Secy. to H. H. Gopinath Ojha M.A. LL.B.

Pte. secy. to Shriman Maharaja, Kunwar Sahib Thakur Mangal Singh.

Maharana's Council.

Members of Mahendraj Sabha. Rawatji Raj Singhji of Mijha ; Raj
Amer Singhji, of Tana ; Maharaj Aman Singhji, Rao Bahdr ; Sukhdeo
Prasad, B.A, C.I.E, F.S.A ; Methaji Jagannuth Singhji, Tirbhawan Nathji.
M.A ; Ramakant Malviji, B.A. LL.B ; Naranjan Nath. Mehta Takhat Singhji
and Madan Mohan Lalji, B.A, B.L ;

Secy. to Mahendraj Sabha, Pt. Ramakanta Mulviji.

State Officers.

Treasy. offr. Mehta Manohar Singhji.

Hakim Mahakma Mal. Akshwani Kumar, B.A, LL. B.

Settlmt. offr. Hamid Husainji.

Daroga Dewasthan, Mehta Takhat Singhji.

Customs offr. Langu Singhji.

Chf. magte. Bhura Lalji Hiron, M.A., LL.B.

Civil judge, Mir Afsal Ali.

Supt. of mint, Jagannath Singhji Mehta.

Supdt. of Dharmasabha, astronomer & astrologer, Isri Singhji.

Supdt. of Police, Amrit Lal.

Girai offr. Ranwat Man Singhji.

Offr. in chge. of irregular force, Ranawat Indersinghji.

Acctt. genl. Pundit Panna Lal Mohile.

Patiala State—Punjab.

*Chief:—*HIS HIGHNESS FARZAN-UL-KHAS DAULAT-I-

INGLISHIA MANSHUR UL-ZAMAN AMIR-UL-UMRA

MAHARAJA DHIRAJ RAJESHWAR SIB

MAHARAJA RAJGAH MAJOR-

GENERAL MOHINDER

BAHADUR, G.C.I.E.,

G.C.B.E.

Secretariat

FINCL. SECTT.—Fincl. and Foreign secy. Diwan Bahdur. Sardar Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E

Asst. fincl. secy. Sardar Mian Sukh Dev Singh, M.A., L.L.B

Supdt. L. U'Mroo Bahadur B.A

FOREIGN—Foreign and fincl. secy. Diwan Bahadur Sardar Daya Kishan Kaul, C.I.E

Asst. Foreign secy. Sardar Gridhar Lall, B.A

Supdt: L. Sardha Ram, offg

Mily. secy. Col. K. M. Mистри. offg

Supdt. B. Brij Kishore

Reve. secy. Sardar Sahib Sardar Dalip Singh

Clk. of the Ct. Sardar Dewan Chand

Judicial secy. Sardar Sahib Sardar Nihal Singh, M.A

Asst. judl. secy. Sardar Nagana Singh B.A, offg

Supdt. Sardar Darbara Singh, B.A, LL.B. offg

War secy. Sardar Bahadur General Gurnam Singh, C.I.E

Chief of the General Staff. Sardar Sarup Singh. offg

Personl. asst. Rai Sahib S. Raghunath Sarup

Home secy. Col. K. M. Mистри

Personl. asst. to home secy. Sardar Rup Lall B.A

Genl. offr. comdg. cavalry bde. Sardar Bahadur Brigadier General Sardar Nand Singh

Genl. offr. comdg. infan. bde. Major General Sardar Surup Singh

70 THE GOVERNMENT OF KASHMIR & JAMMU

Chief Court.

Judges :—Sardar Narnarian Singh ; Sardar Bachittar Singh ; Sardar Gokal Chand, B.A. ;

Govt. advo., Sardar Bhagat Ram, M.A., LL.B., offg

Regtr., Sh. Fateh Mohommad

Nazims :—Sardar Balwant Singh—Karam Garh, Sardar Bachittar Singh—Anahad Garh, Khan Bahadur S. M. Fazal Matin, Sardar Sant Singh—Mohinder Garh, Sardar Ram Kishan Dass, offg.

Kashmir & Jammu—(Cap. Sringar)

Ruler :—LT. GENL. H. H. MAHARAJA SIR PARTAB SINGH

IFDAR MAHINDRA BAHADUR SIPAH-I-SULTANAT,

G.C.S.I. ; G.C.I.E. ; G.B.E.

Administration.

Chf. Minister—Raja Daljit Singh Sahab.

Ministers, Home.—Rai Bah. Maj. Gen. Dewan Bishan Das.

“ *Rev.*—Khan Bah. Chowdhuri Khushi Mohamad.

“ *Judl.*—Rai Bah. Kunwar Parmanand.

Pt. Secy. to H. H.—L. N. Sharma, Bar-at-law.

Secy. to H. H.—Lala Shanker Lal.

Secy. to Chief Minister—Sardar Karman Singh.

Ast. Governor Kashmir Pr.—Lala Ram Ratan M.A.

Chief Judge Kashmir—Ardeswar Hakim.

Dy. Governor, Jammu Pr.—Rai Sahib Pt. Lachman Das.

Judge, High Court, Jammu—Rai Bahadur Kunwar Parmanand.

Chief Judge, “ “—Dewan Bodhraj Sawahmi.

Inspector General Police—C. G. D. Farquhar.

Director, Public Works—H. N. Green.

Ast. Engineer, Public Works—E. F. Sykes.

Settlement Commissioner—H. M. Stow.

Conservator of Forests—B. O. Coventry.

Commander, State Army—Gen. Raja Sir Hari Singh.

Adj. Genl.—Major Gen. Raja Farman Ali Khan.

Kapurthala--Punjab.

Rules :—LT. COL. H. H. FARZAND-I-DILRANG RASKH-UL-ITIQAQ DAFLEH
 ENGLISHIA RAJA-I-RAJAGAN MAHARAJA JAGATJIT SINGH, SAHEB
 BAHADUR, G.C.S.I. ETC.

Chief Secretary—Khan Bah. Sardar Abdul Hamid.

Nazir—Sardar Bhagwan Das.

Chief Judge—Dewan Harkishen Das.

Puisne Judge—Sardar Bhagat Ram.

Dir. of Police—Capt. Maharaj Kumar Amarjit Singh.

Dir. of Educ.— Do Do.

Officer Comm.—Lt. Col. Nihal Singh Bahadur.

Enkshi.—Maj. Gen. Sirdar Puran Singh Bahadur.

Rampur State--U.P.

Rules :—COL. H. H. ALIJAH FERJAND-I-DILPIZIR-I-DAULAT-I-ING
 LISHIA NASIBULMULK AMIRULOMRA NAWAB SIR SYED
 MUHAMMAD HAMID ALI KHAN SAHEB BAHADUR,
 G.C.I.E. ETC. A.D.C. TO H.I.M.

Administration.

Pte. Secretary to H. H.—Haji Mohd. Hadi Hassan Khan.

Chf. Secretary .. — Sahebzada Abdul Samad Khan.

Res. Secretary .. — Sahebzada Abdul Majid Khan.

Home Secretary .. — Sahebzada Sayad Sadat Ali Khan

Indel. Secretary .. — Qamar Shah Khan.

Mic. Munshi—Bhakat Behari Lal.

Nail .. — Raghubir Sahni.

W. Judge—Muhammad Sher Zaman Khan.

Nazim—Muhammad Abbas Ali Khan

Sadar Dewan—Munshi Raj Bahadur.

Bhopal state—C.I.

Ruler :—Her Highness Nawab Sultana Jehan Begum Sahiba, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., C.I.E.

Heir-apparent—Col : Nawab Muhammad Naserulla Khan.

Administration.

Chief Secretary—Maj. Nawabsada Haji Muhammad Hamidulla Khan Saheb Bdr.

Rev. „ —M. Oudh Narain Bisaria, Rai Bahadur.

Fincl. „ —Mir Munshi Syed Munshab Ali.

Mily. „ —Capt. Abdus Samad Khan.

Private „ —Syed Sakhawal Hossein.

Legtve. „ —M. Abdul Gaffar.

Pol : „ —M Abdul Rānf Khan Khan Saheb.

Judol. „ —Khan Bahadur Moul. Muhammad Asrar Hassan Khan.

Secy : State Council—Moul : Saiduddin Bahadur.

„ **Rubkari**—Mia Abdus Samad Khan Khan Bahadur.

Com-in-Chief, State forces—General Nawabzada Haji Hatiz Muhammad Obaidulla Khan, C.S.I., a.d.c. to Viceroy.

Cochin state—S.I.

(Cap. Ernakulam)

Ruler—H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E.

Dewan—C. Vijayaraghava Chariar.

Dewan Peshkar—T. V. Kasturiranga Iyer.

Chief Judge—T. S. Narayana Iyer, B.L.,

Puisne Judges—P. J. Varughes, B.L.

P. Narayan Menon B.L.

***Supdt. Land Records**—A. K. Venugo Iyer, J. Achuta Menon (Actg.).

Agriculture and fisheries—J. Raman Menon, B.A., F.E.S.

Customs—H. W. M. Brown.

Stamp and Stationery—K. K. Joseph, B.A.; A. Antony (actg.)

of Registration—A. R. Venkiteswara Iyer.

of Police—M. A. Chakko.

India and her People.

Natural Divisions.

1. **Boundaries**—The political boundary of India marches with Persia from the Gulf of Oman to near Zulfikar on the Harirud; then with the Russian Empire along the frontier laid down by agreement in 1885 as far as the Oxus at Khamiab; thence along the Oxus by the Punjab branch up to the Victoria Lake, and from the east end of that lake by the line demarcated in 1895 up to Povalu Schweikovski on the Taghdumbash Pamir, where three Empires—the British, Russian, and Chinese—meet. From this point the frontier—in many parts not yet clearly defined—touches the Chinese Empire, mainly along the crests of the Mustagh (Karakoram) range and the Himalayas, till the limits of French Indo-China are reached on the upper Mekong. The Indian frontier, on leaving the Mekong, marches with Siam till it reaches the sea at Victoria Point, half-way down the Malaya Peninsula. Beyond the sea the Indian Empire includes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, Aden and Perim, besides protectorates over Socotra, Bahrein, and various chiefships along the coast from Aden to the Persian Gulf. Continental India, including Baluchistan, reaches from 8° to 37° N. latitude, and from 61° to 101° E. longitude. Delhi, the new capital, lies in 77° E. long.

Natural Divisions of India:—The country is naturally divided into three sections, viz., the Himalayan reign, the northern river plains, and the southern table-land.

The Himalayas.—The Himalayas (which lie partly beyond the frontier), with their southern offshoots, form the natural northern boundary of India. The Himalayan range runs for 1500 miles from N. W. to S. E. with a varying breadth of 150 to 300 miles, and attains an average height of 20,000 feet above the plain, culminating in the loftiest peaks yet measured on the globe—Mount Everest 29,141 feet, Kunchinjunga 28,146 feet, and Dhaulagiri, 26,826 feet, near the centre of the range; and Mount Godwin Austen, 28,250

feet. near its junction with the Hindu Kush. The line of perpetual snow is at above 16,000 feet. The Himalayas form a barrier to the tropical clouds and store up water for the plains below. The slopes afford a representation of the tropical zone (especially on the southern slopes to the East), the temperate zone (particularly to the S. W. of the range), and the arctic zone as the upward journey is taken from the plains. There are several very beautiful sanatoria, including Murree, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, and Darjeeling. Himalayan vegetation includes varied species as the tree-fern, llex, pine, oak, find deodar, (cedar), rhododendron, barley, oats, millet, and many domestic vegetables. The fauna are as varied as the flora, and include the bison, musk-deer, yak, wild sheep and goat, bear, elephant, monkey, and tiger, eagles, partridges, and pheasant. Between the Himalayas and the plains to the S. E. is the dangerous fever-haunted Tarai or Duar jungle, densely forest-covered and full of big game.

The Great Plain.—The great northern river plains, lying at the foot of the Himalayas, comprise the rich alluvial plains watered by the Indus, the Ganges, the Lower Brahmaputra, and their tributaries. This is the region which formed the theatre of the ancient race movements which shaped the civilisation and political destinies of the whole Indian Peninsula. At no great distance from one another, four rivers take their rise in the Himalayas. The sources of two are on the north side—the Indus, which flows westward for 1,800 miles, and the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra, which flows eastward for nearly 1,500 miles. The other two, on the southern slope, are the Sutlej, which, after flowing W. and S. W. for 900 miles and collecting various other streams, joins the Indus, and the Ganges, which, during a journey S.E. and E. of about 1,550 miles, drains almost all the Bengal plain. The Brahmaputra, after flowing along the northern side as far as the eastern extremity of the Himalayas, turns sharply to the S. then to the W., and finally joins the Ganges, 75 miles from where their combined streams enter the Bay of Bengal. Thus the Himalayas supply India with the water gathered on both slopes. The Indus and Ganges, with their tributaries, are source of an extensive system of irrigation by canals. These plains are the richest, most populous, and most historically famous part of India. Formerly the Ganges was the only great highway of Bengal; it is still the fertiliser and the water-carrier. But a close net work of railways is increasingly used for transport. The richness of the Indo-Gangetic plain, with its ample rainfall, enables it to support a dense population, almost wholly agricultural. The density of the

population rises in some districts to 900 per square mile. On the other hand, in Baluchistan there are only 6 persons to the square mile. The population has increased most in the densest areas, and pressure on the soil is severe in parts of Bihar and the United Provinces. In northern India there are two harvests, *rabi* (spring) crops being reaped in March and April, *kharif*, (autumn) crops in October to December. There are also wheat, pulse, maize, millet, barley, and tea; while in the south, indigo, cotton, sugarcane, jute, oilseeds, tobacco, opium and spices are produced. Among the fauna are monkeys, panthers, tigers, leopards, hyenas, jackals, squirrels, elephants, deer, crocodiles, and snakes. Salt, mica, and coal are the chief minerals. The Ganges delta yields rice, bamboos, and a large variety of palms. The Aravalli range, the primeval chain of India, divides Rajputana from the Central India Native States. To the N.-W. of the peninsula lies the mountainous, barren and thinly populated region of Baluchistan.

The Deccan—Just as the Himalayas on the N. and the Hindu Kush and Suleiman Mountains on the N. W. form natural barriers of defence for Hindustan, so do the Vindhya Mountains, running almost due E. from the head of the Gulf of Cambay, north of the Narmada River, form a firm southern boundary to the river-plains of Northern India. Southern India or the Deccan, is a plateau of triangular shape from 1000 to 3000 ft above sea level and very old geological formation bounded on two sides by the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, which converge at Cape Comorin, and on the north by the Vindhyas. The Eastern and Western Ghats all but complete this triangle of mountain ranges. In the extreme N. W., south of the Vindhyas, and parallel to them, but north of the Western Ghats, the Narmada and the Tapi flow westwards, their basins being sharply defined by the Satpura Mountains, which lie midway between them. As the Western Ghats lie close to the coast, and afford no exit for rivers, there are no streams on the Malabar coast south of the Tapi; all the rivers flow eastwards, through defiles in the Eastern Ghats, into the Bay of Bengal. The Western Ghats form a lofty barrier between the waters of the central plateau and the Indian Ocean. The drainage has therefore to make its way across India to the east, now turning sharply round projecting ranges, now trembling down ravines, or rushing along the valleys until the rain which the Bombay sea-breeze has deposited upon the Western Ghats is finally drained into the Bay of Bengal. The four chief rivers are the Mahanuddy, in the extreme

N. E. (500 m.), the Godavery (900 m.), the Kistna (600 m.), and the Cauvery (472 m.), at intervals further to the south.

The physical geography of Southern India has shaped its history: the S. W. coast, shut in by mountains, is very primitive and moves slowly; the S. E., open and easy of access by sea and towards the interior, has made great progress. The mountain slopes of this region, especially those of the Western Ghats, which rise to 8,000 feet in the Nilgris, are still covered with a splendid primeval forests vegetation. Teak, ebony, satinwood, sandalwood, palm, and bamboo abound. The jungles in the East are very deadly. The tiger, bison, leopard, deer, and various smaller game afford sport. Snakes are found everywhere. In the valleys and on the higher plains many valuable crops are raised, chiefly rice, millet, cotton, oilseeds, coffee, tea, indigo, tobacco, and cinchona. The black cotton soil is very fertile. Irrigation by dams, wells, tanks, and canals. The southern tableland has furnished considerable supplies of minerals. The minerals principally worked are coal, manganese ore, mica, monazite, and gold.

Burma.—Beyond the Bay of Bengal is the large province of Burma, watered by the Irrawaddy and its tributaries and by the Salween. The delta region is flat; further inland are hills and rolling downs; while the north is mountainous. Rice is the chief staple. Millet, cotton, sesamum, and tobacco are also cultivated. The forests, particularly of teak, make a considerable contribution to the exports. Petroleum is produced on a considerable scale. and jade, wolfram, and rubies are mined. The fauna include monkeys, jackals, tigers, elephants bison, and deer.

Climate—About half of India is within the tropics, but the greatest extremes of heat and cold are in the N. W. In the Himalays the climate is moist and cold. In Northern India it is dry, and the winters are rather cold. In tropical Southern India the climate is more equable. Calcutta, Bombay and Madras all have an equable climate, owing to proximity to the sea. India depends for its fertility upon the monsoon rains. The S. W. monsoon brings moisture from the ocean south of the Equator, and reaches the west coast early in June and the northern provinces late in June. The mountains arrest these currents and precipitate rainfall, which averages 60 inches in the sub-Himalayan region, 39 inches in the Indo-Gangetic plain, and 30 in-

ches in the Deccan, but is small in Sind and Rajputana. Madras benefits by the N. E. monsoon in the autumn.

Area and Population.—The total area of India proper is about 1802,657 square miles, with a population of 315 millions about three-fourths of the population of the British Empire). The British Provinces, is distinguished from the States under native administration, comprise 60·6 per cent. of the area, and 77·5 per cent. of the population.

The fourth genera census of India.

10th March, 1911.

The enumeration embraced the whole of the Indian Empire but only estimates could be made for a few outlying tracts and tribal areas on the frontier. The census returns give a population of 315,156,396, as compared with 294,361,056 in 1901, an increase in ten years of about 7 per cent. The returns were in some parts much affected by severe malarial fever and plague which caused a large temporary decrease in certain towns. The census total of 1911 is divisible into 244,267,542 (or 77·5 percent) for British India, and 70, 888,854 (or 22·5 per cent.) for Native States. India is not overpopulated, for two-thirds of the people live on one-quarter of the area. In Burma, Asam, and elsewhere there are large unpopulated tracts where a much larger population might subsist. There were in 1911 30 towns with a population of 100,000 and over. Urban areas of over 5,000 people comprised only about 10 per cent. of the total population.

Political Divisions.

India including Burma consists of about one million Sq. M. with a population of about 232 millions of British territory and about 7 millions Sq. M. with a population of about 62 millions divided up among various Native States.

British India is distributed into 13 Provinces of varying size, each with a separate head, but all under the supreme control of a Viceroy and Governor-General in Council. The table below gives the figures as to the Provinces.

The Native States are ruled by Native Princes or chiefs with the help of political officers appointed by the British Government and resident at their courts. Some of the States in their internal ad-

ministration exercise almost complete independence ; others require more assistance or a stricter control. The Chiefs possess revenues and armies of their own, and the more important exercise the power of life and death over their subjects. The authority of a chief is however limited by treaties and engagements with the British Government which, as suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to form alliances with each other, and on policy keeps them divided. The Suzerain Power has the right to interfere in case of misgovernment of a State and also to remove a chief or appoint another in his place.

There are in all nearly 700 Native States, divided into a Major Group and a Minor Group. Of the Major Groups the most important are Hyderabad (Deccan), Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir and Jammu, the Rajputana Agency, and the Central India Agency. The first four are single units, each under a Ruler, but Rajputana and Central India are political Groups consisting of many states, enjoying different degrees of power. Rajputana contains twenty states, while central India has about 149 states and petty chiefs. The Agencies are directly under the Governor-General who is locally represented by his Agent.

The Minor States are subordinate to the Provincial Governments. There are 5 under Madras, 354 under Bombay, 28 under Bengal and Behar, 34 under Punjab, 25 under the Central Provinces, and 2 under the United Provinces Government.

In addition to these fixed internal states, there are several frontier tracts of India whose status is not strictly defined. Such are the States of Kalat and Las Bela in Beluchistan, the Chitral and Dir States in the North-West-frontier, and the Afridi, Waziri and other tribal units. Nepal and Bhutan, though perfectly independent, are under various commercial and other agreements with the Government of India.

Statistics of Population in India.

	1872.	1881.	1891.	1901	1911.
INDIA	206,162,360	253,896,330	287,314,671	294,361,056	315,156,306
PROVINCES	—	—	—	—	—
Ajmer-Merwara	185,163,435	198,882,817	221,240,830	231,005,040	244,307,542
Andamans and Nicobars	366,331	400,722	543,358	470,912	501,395
Assam	—	14,638	15,600	24,639	26,459
Baluchistan	4,150,760	4,907,792	5,477,302	5,841,878	6,713,635
Bengal	—	—	—	382,106	444,412
Bihar and Orissa	34,119,495	36,316,728	39,080,632	42,141,477	45,483,077
Bihar	20,486,482	30,988,320	32,876,557	33,242,783	34,490,084
Orissa	10,735,027	22,418,307	23,581,538	23,360,212	23,752,969
Chota Nagpur	3,603,156	4,343,064	4,006,227	4,982,142	5,431,753
Bombay (Presidency)	3,147,609	4,225,989	4,028,792	4,900,429	5,005,302
Bombay	16,301,362	16,494,538	18,878,471	18,559,650	19,672,642
Sind	14,975,508	14,042,021	15,959,292	15,304,766	16,113,042
Aden	24,200,565	2,875,100	2,875,100	3,210,910	3,513,435
Burma	19,289	34,800	44,079	43,974	46,105
Central Provinces and Berar	2,747,148	3,736,771	7,722,053	10,490,624	12,115,217
Central Provinces	9,951,268	11,943,363	13,048,972	11,971,452	13,916,508
Berar	7,723,614	9,270,000	10,151,481	9,217,436	10,859,146
Coorg	2,227,654	2,672,673	2,807,491	2,754,016	3,057,162
Madras	168,312	178,302	173,055	180,607	174,976
North-West Frontier Province (Districts and Administered Territories).	31,230,622	30,841,154	35,644,428	38,229,654	41,405,404
Punjab	—	1,575,943	1,857,519	2,041,534	2,196,933
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	17,609,672	17,274,597	19,009,368	20,330,337	19,974,956
Agra	42,000,004	44,149,959	46,995,512	47,092,277	47,182,044
Oudh	30,780,961	32,702,127	34,254,588	34,859,109	34,624,040
	11,221,043	11,387,832	12,050,924	12,833,168	12,558,014

STATES AND AGENCIES		1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Assam State (Manipur)	—	20,998,925	55,013,513	66,073,835	62,755,116	70,888,854
Baluchistan States	—	—	221,070	—	284,465	346,222
Baroda State	—	—	—	—	428,640	420,291
Bengal States	—	1,997,598	2,182,158	2,415,396	2,952,692	2,032,798
Bihar and Orissa States	—	567,827	698,261	716,310	740,299	822,565
Bombay States	—	1,723,900	2,410,611	3,028,018	3,314,474	3,945,209
Central India Agency	—	6,797,970	6,937,893	8,081,950	6,908,559	7,411,675
Central Provinces States	—	—	9,261,907	10,136,403	8,497,805	9,356,980
Hyderabad State	—	928,116	1,387,294	1,712,562	1,631,140	2,117,002
Kashmir State	—	—	9,845,594	11,537,040	11,141,142	13,374,676
Madras States	—	—	—	2,543,952	2,905,578	3,158,126
Mysore State	—	3,289,392	3,344,849	3,700,622	4,188,086	4,811,841
N.-W. P. Province (Agencies and Tribal areas)	—	5,055,402	4,186,188	4,93,604	5,539,399	5,806,193
Punjab States	—	—	—	—	83,962	1,622,004
Rajputana Agency	—	—	3,861,683	4,263,280	4,424,398	4,212,794
Sikkim State	—	—	9,934,255	12,171,749	9,853,366	10,530,432
United Provinces States	—	—	—	30,458	59,014	87,920
	—	638,720	741,750	792,491	802,097	832,036

Statistics of Population in Towns.

TOWNS.		1872.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
1	CALCUTTA—including Howrah	633,003	612,307	682,395	1,106,738	1,222,313
2	BOMBAY	644,405	773,196	821,704	776,006	979,445
3	MADRAS AND CANTONMENT—	397,552	495,848	452,518	509,346	518,060
4	Hydrabad and Cantonment	.....	367,417	415,039	448,466	500,623
5	Rangoon and Cantonment	98,745	134,176	182,080	245,430	293,316
6	Lucknow and Cantonment—	284,779	261,303	273,028	264,046	259,798
7	Delhi and Cantonment	154,417	173,393	192,579	208,575	232,837
8	Lahore and Cantonment	125,413	157,287	170,854	202,964	228,687
9	Ahmedabad and cantonment	119,672	127,621	148,412	185,889	216,777
10	Benares and Cantonment	178,300	218,573	223,375	213,079	203,804
11	Bangalore Civil and Military Station	81,810	93,540	100,081	89,599	100,834
12	Agra and Cantonment	149,008	160,203	168,662	188,022	185,449
13	Cawnpore and Cantonment	125,877	155,369	194,048	202,797	178,557
14	Allahabad and Cantonment	143,693	160,118	175,246	172,032	171,697
15	Poona and Cantonment	118,886	129,751	161,390	153,320	158,856
16	Amrit-ar and Cantonment	135,813	151,896	136,766	162,429	152,756
17	Karachi and Cantonment	56,753	73,560	105,199	116,663	151,903
18	Mandalay and Cantonment	....	—	188,815	183,816	138,299
19	Jaipur	....	142,578	158,787	160,167	137,098
20	Patna	158,900	170,654	165,192	134,785	136,153
21	Madura	51,987	73,807	87,428	105,984	134,130
22	Bareilly and Cantonment	104,533	115,138	122,837	133,167	129,462
23	Srinagar and Cantonment	—	—	118,960	122,618	126,344
24	Trichinopoly and Cantonment	76,530	84,449	190,609	104,721	123,512
25	Meerut and Cantonment	81,386	99,565	119,390	118,129	116,227
26	Surat and Cantonment	107,855	109,844	109,229	119,306	114,868
27	Dacca	68,595	78,369	81,585	89,733	108,551
28	Nagpur	84,441	98,299	117,014	127,734	101,415
29	Jubbulpore and Cantonment	55,469	76,023	84,682	90,533	100,651
30	Howrah	84,069	90,813	116,666	157,594	179,506

DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION.

	India	British Provinces.	Native States.
1	2	3	4
Area in square miles ...	1 802,657	1,093,074	709,583
Number of Towns and Villages ...	722,495	538,809	183,686
(a) Towns ...	2,153	1,452	701
(b) Villages ...	720,342	537,357	182,985
Number of Occupied Houses ..	63,710,179	49,140,947	14,560,232
(a) In Towns ...	6,037,456	4,409,121	1,628,335
(b) In Villages ...	57,672,723	44,731,826	12,940,897
Total Population ...	315,156,396	244,267,542	70,888,854
(a) In Towns ...	29,748,228	22,817,715	6,930,513
(b) In Villages ...	285,408,168	221,449,827	63,958,341
Males ...	161,338,935	124,873,691	36,465,244
(a) In Towns ...	16,108,304	12,525,830	3,582,474
(b) In Villages ...	145,230,631	112,347,861	32,882,770
Females ...	153,817,461	119,393,851	34,423,610
(a) In Towns ...	13,639,927	10,291,885	3,348,439
(b) In Villages ...	140,177,537	109,101,966	31,075,571

POPULATION ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND EDUCATION.

Religion	Males		
	Total Population	Literate	Literate in English
Hindu	110,865,731	66,642,497	11,223,134
Sikh	1,734,778	1,550,610	184,163
Jain	643,553	324,968	318,585
Buddhist	5,286,142	3,131,761	2,134,381
Parsi	51,128	11,128	39,995
Muhammadian	34,709,365	32,319,599	2,389,766
Christian	2,010,734	1,422,154	588,570
Animistic	5,088,241	5,034,408	53,833
Minor and Unspecified	28,818	22,430	6,388
Total Males	160,418,470	143,479,655	16,938,314

STATISTICS OF RELIGION

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Females.

Hindu	106,721,714	105,905,904	814,810	23,650
Sikh	1,279,667	1,262,387	17,289	238
Jain	..	..	604,639	580,500	24,120	209
Buddhist	..	..	5,435,086	6,117,738	317,338	1,383
Parsi	..	..	48,973	17,755	31,218	8,347
Muhammadan	..	..	31,883,812	31,746,005	137,807	1,949
Christian	..	..	1,865,472	1,613,177	252,295	112,643
Animistic	..	..	5,129,303	5,126,316	9,987	74
Minor and	..	..	29,263	26,355	2,908	1,333
Total Females			152,996,919	151,396,156	1,600,763	152,026
Total Population			313,415,888	294,875,811	18,539,578	1,670,307

STATISTICS OF RELIGIONS.

					Religion	India	British Provinces	Native States.
INDIA								
Hindu						315,156,396	244,267,542	70,888,854
						217,386,892	163,621,431	53,965,461
Brahmanic						217,337,943	163,381,380	53,956,562
Arya						243,445	234,841	8,604
Brahmo						5,504	5,210	294
sikh						3,014,466	2,171,908	842,558
Jain						1,248,182	458,578	789,604
Buddhist						10,721,453	10,644,469	77,944
Zoroastrian (Parsi)						100,096	86,155	13,941
Muselman						66,647,299	37,423,889	9,223,410
Christian						3,876,203	2,492,284	1,383,919
Jew						20,980	18,524	2,456
Animistic						10,295,168	7,348,024	2,947,144
Minor Religions and Religion not returned						37,101	2,340	34,761
Not enumerated by Religion						1,608,556	..	1,608,556

The Racial Types in India.

1. **The Turko-Iranian**, represented by the Baloch, Brahui and Afghans of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province. Stature above mean, complexion fair, eyes mostly dark, but occasionally grey, hair on face plentiful, head broad, nose moderately narrow, prominent, and very long.

2. **The Indo-Aryan**, occupying the Punjab, Rajputana, and Kashmir, and having as its characteristics members the Rajputs, Khattris, and Jats. This type, approaches the traditional Aryan colonists of India. The stature is mostly tall, complexion fair, eyes dark, hair on face plentiful, head long, nose narrow, and prominent, but not specially long

3. **The Scytho-Dravidian**, comprising the Maratha Brahmans, the Kunbis, and the Coorgs of Western India. Distinguished from the Turko-Iranian by a lower stature, a greater length of head, a higher nasal index, a shorter nose, and a lower orbitonasal index.

4. **The Aryo-Dravidian or Hindustani**, found in the United Provinces, in parts of Rajputana, and the Bihar and represented in its upper strata by the Hindustani Brahman and in its lower by the Chamar. Head long, complexion from lightish brown to black, nose medium to broad, being always broader than among the Indo-Aryans, stature lower than in the latter group, and usually below the average according to the scale. The type is essentially a mixed one.

5. **The Mongolo-Dravidian**, or Bengali type of Lower Bengal and Orissa, comprising the Bengal Brahmans and Kyashtas, the Mahomedans of Eastern Bengal, and other groups peculiar to this part of India. Probably a blend of Dravidian and Mongoloid elements, with a strain of Indo-Aryan blood of the higher groups. The head broad, complexion dark, hair on face usually plentiful, stature medium, nose medium, with a tendency to broad. These is one of the most distinctive types in India.

6. **The Mongoloid** type of the Himalayas, Nepal, Assam, and Burma, represented by the Kanets of Lahul and Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the Limbus, Murmis and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodo of Assam, and the Burmese. The head broad, complexion dark with a yellow tinge, hair on face

scanty, stature short, below average, nose fine to broad, face characteristically flat ; eyelids often oblique.

7. **The Dravidian type**, extending from Ceylon to the valley of the Ganges and pervading Madras, Hyderabad, the Central provinces, most of Central India and Chota Nagpur. Representatives are the Paniyans of Malabar and the Santals of Chota Nagpur. Probably the original type of the population of India now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. In typical specimens the stature is short or below mean ; the complexion very dark, approaching black ; hair plentiful, with an occasional tendency to curl ; eyes dark ; head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root,

Sex in India.

In India the proportion of females per thousand males rose steadily from 954 in 1881 to 963 in 1901. It has now fallen again to exactly the same figure as in 1881. This is in strong contrast with Europe, where the number of females per thousand males varies from 1,093 in Portugal, and 1,068 in England and Wales, to 1,013 in Belgium, and 1,003 in Ireland. The reason, says the census officer, is : in Europe, boys and girls are equally well cared for. Consequently, as boys are constitutionally more delicate than girls, by the time adolescence is reached, a higher death-rate has already obliterated the excess of males and produced a numerical equality between the two sexes. Later on in life, the mortality amongst males remains relatively high, owing to the risks to which they are exposed in their daily avocations ; hard work, exposure in all weathers, and accidents of various kinds combine to make their mean duration of life less than that of women, who are for the most part engaged in domestic duties or occupations of a lighter nature. Hence the proportion of females steadily rises. In India, the conditions are altogether different. Sons are earnestly longed for, while daughters are not wanted. This feeling exists everywhere, but it varies greatly in intensity. It is strongest amongst communities such as the higher Rajput clans, where large sums have to be paid to obtain a husband of suitable status and the cost of the marriage ceremony is excessive and those like the Pathans who despise women and hold in derision the father of daughters. Sometimes the prejudice against daughters is so strong that abortion is resorted to when the midwife predicts the birth of a girl. Formerly female infants were frequently killed as soon as they were born and

even now they are very commonly neglected to a greater or less extent. The advantage which nature gives to girls is thus neutralised by the treatment accorded to them by their parents. To make matters worse, they are given in marriage at a very early age, and cohabitation begins long before they are physically fit for it. To the evils of early child-bearing must be added unskilful midwifery, and the combined result is an excessive mortality amongst young mothers. In India almost every woman has to face these dangers. Lastly, amongst the lower classes, who form the bulk of the population, the women often have to work as hard as, and sometimes harder than, the men, and they are thus less favourably situated in respect of their occupations than their sisters in Europe." The statement, however is not accepted on all hands, and the returns are doubtful in the case of females whom it is not easy to count.

Marriage in India.

Polyandry, once prevalent at certain places, is now rare, and polygamy though allowed is now discreditable. Child marriage is very common : 4 per cent. of males aged 5 to 10 are married, and of those aged 10 to 15, 13 per cent, of those between 15 to 20, 32 per cent and the percentage rises to 69 for those between 20 and 30 years. Of the females under 5, one in 72 is married ; of those between 5 and 10, 10 per cent, between 10 and 15 years, 45 per cent and between 15 and 20 more than 85 per cent. Altogether there are 2½ millions girlwives under 10 and 9 millions under 15 years !

The result is shown in the percentage of widows. The proportion of widows is about 18 per cent of the total number of females, against only 9 per cent in Western countries. About 400,000 widows are below 15 !

Legislation to prevent infant marriage is in force in the only two progressive spots of India—the Native states of Mysore and Baroda. In the former an Act has been passed forbidding the marriage of girls under eight, and that of girls under fourteen with men over fifty years of age. For though marriage is a sacrament in most places and with most people of India, old widowers greedily take up young girls as their wives without any regard to the future of the girls. Widowers above 50 marrying girls below 12 are yet common, and the orthodox society still connives at such unnatural outrages in the name of religion ! The Gaekwar of Baroda, in the face of strong orthodox opposition, has refused to satisfy the lust of old widowers to the sacrifice of young girls, and in 1904 passed an Act

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forbidding absolutely the marriage of all girls below the age of 9. The Act allows the marriage of girls below the age of 12 and of boys below 16 only when the parents first obtain the consent of a tribunal consisting of the Sub-Judge and 3 assessors of the petitioners caste. Consent is given only on certain special grounds specified in the act.

Statistics of Birth and Death Rates.

Province of British India.	Age-specific Death Rates (per m)			
	1915.	1916.	1915.	1916.
Delhi	47.91	49.39	28.97	32.92
Bengal	31.80	31.80	32.83	27.37
Bihar and Orissa	40.4	36.6	32.2	32.8
Assam	33.60	30.32	30.86	28.59
United Provinces	43.48	43.00	30.04	29.50
Punjab	43.0	45.6	36.33	30.7
N. W. Frontier Province	31.7	33.8	23.91	20.1
Central Provinces and Behar	47.95	43.85	33.01	39.95
Madras	31.2	32.5	22.0	21.9
Coorg	23.33	28.74	31.98	27.43
Bombay	37.10	33.98	26.12	33.32
Burma, Lower	33.39	32.75	25.12	22.61
Burma, Upper	38.01	35.30	32.72	26.31
Ajmer-Merwara	43.78	38.68	26.03	40.48
Total for India	37.82	37.13	29.94	29.10

PROVINCE, STATE, OR AGENCY.	Area in square miles (1911).	PERSONS, 1911.		Total.
		Males.	Females.	
Ajmer-Merwara ...	2,711	266,198	235,197	501,395
Andamans and Nicobars	3,143	19,570	6,889	26,459
Assam ...	53,015	3,467,621	3,240,014	6,713,636
Assam State (Manipur)	8,456	170,666	175,556	346,222
Aden —	80	31,290	14,875	46,165
Baluchistan —	54,228	239,181	175,231	414,412
Bengal —	78,699	23,365,225	22,117,852	45,483,077
Bihar and Orissa —	83,181	16,859,929	17,630,155	34,490,084
Bombay (Presidency) —	123,059	10,245,847	9,470,795	19,716,642
Bombay —	75,993	8,275,233	7,837,809	16,113,042
Burma —	230,839	6,183,494	5,931,723	12,115,217
Central Provinces and and Berar —	99,823	6,930,392	6,985,916	13,916,308
Baroda State —	8,182	1,055,935	976,863	2,032,798
Bengal States —	5,393	438,368	384,197	822,565
Bihar and Orissa States	28,648	1,955,125	1,990,084	3,945,209
Bombay States —	63,864	3,765,401	3,646,274	7,411,675
Coorg —	1,582	97,279	77,607	174,976
Central India Agency	77,367	4,801,459	4,555,521	9,356,980
Delhi —	557	1	1	397,828
Hyderabad State —	82,698	6,797,118	6,577,558	13,374,676
Kashmir State —	84,432	1,674,307	1,483,759	3,158,126
Madras —	142,330	20,382,955	21,022,449	41,405,404
Madras States —	10,540	2,411,758	2,400,083	4,811,841
Mysore State —	29,475	2,984,621	2,871,572	5,856,193
† North West Frontier Province (Agencies and Tribal Areas) —	25,500	804,876	757,218	1,622,094
North West Frontier Province —	13,418	1,182,102	1,014,831	2,196,933
Punjab —	99,222	10,992,067	8,982,880	19,974,950
Punjab States —	36,551	2,322,008	1,880,886	4,212,704
Rajputana Agency —	128,687	5,515,375	5,014,157	10,530,432
* Sind —	46,986	1,939,324	1,574,111	3,513,485
Central Provinces States —	31,174	1,053,630	1,003,372	2,117,002
Sikkim —	2,818	45,059	42,861	87,920
Baluchistan (Agency Tracts) —	80,410	227,238	193,053	420,291
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh —	107,267	24,641,831	22,540,213	47,182,044
Total Provinces —	1,093,074	124,873,691	119,393,851	244,267,542
United Provinces States	5,079	431,440	400,506	832,030
Total, States and agencies —	700,583	36,465,244	34,423,610	70,888,854
TOTAL, INDIA —	808,657	161,338,935	153,817,461	315,156,396

Occupation of the People

India has been said to be a country of a single industry—that industry being Agriculture. More than two thirds of the population are employed in occupation connected with land, while only about 25% are engaged in all other occupations combined. But like the flourishing Western countries, India, too, was at no very distant date a great, perhaps at one time the greatest, manufacturing and industrial country sending her merchandise to the farthest corners of the world and enjoying wealth and prosperity which are now recorded in history. The causes which have operated to bring about the present state of destitution and misery in the country are now matters of history, but the proximate causes have very lucidly been explained by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohon Malaviya last year in his Note on the Report of the Industrial Commission of which he was a member (for this see Part iii, Government Reports.) This phenomenal dependence upon land, and consequently upon favourable or unfavourable monsoon, is making the people more and more helpless in the economic world, and is held to be one of the main causes of the frequent famines and plague, malaria and other diseases which every year takes an appalling toll of life.

Of the 217 million supported by the land, 8 million are landlords, 167 million cultivators, 42 million farm servants and labourers, and less than a million estate agents or farm managers. The village which from time immemorial has been a self sufficient unit in all functions of social life has since the last two centuries been breaking down under the many disintegrating influences which have been and are inevitably at work.

The extensive import of cheap foreign goods, chiefly piece-goods and utensils, and the establishment in the country itself of numerous factories of the Western type, have served to kill almost all the once flourishing village industries. In consequence thousands of people are being year after year thrown out of employment and forced to serve as labourers in factories etc. The huge export of raw materials and their reimport into the country in a finished state have tended to drag the country in one direction alone—that of depriving the people of their hereditary work. This huge competition with the rapidly moving western countries supported by their brain,

organisation, and machinery is gradually driving a lethargic, tradition-ridden, spiritualised, docile, inert people to the very verge of extinction. The corroding influence of conservatism from the inside and the huge pressure of a dynamic world from the outside have operated to bring about a thousand cleavages in the solidarity of the people as a whole—politically, socially, communally, industrially, and in every respect possible.

**Statistical Table showing number of People
engaged in the different trades etc.**

INDIA—	population in million	..	313·4
A—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS		..	227
<i>I—Exploitation of the Surface of the Earth</i>		...	226·5
Pasture and agriculture	...	...	224·7
(a) Ordinary cultivation	...	...	216·7
(b) Growing of special products and market gardening	...	...	2
(c) Forestry	...	...	·6
(d) Raising of farm stock	...	...	5
(e) Raising of small animals	...	...	·05
Fishing and hunting	...	...	1·9
<i>II—Extraction of Minerals</i>		...	·5
Mines	...	...	·4
Quarries of rocks	...	...	·08
Salt, etc.	...	...	·08
B—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES			58
<i>III—Industry</i>		...	35
Textiles	...	...	8
Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	...	...	·7
Wood	...	...	3·8
Metals	...	...	1·8
Ceramics	...	...	2
Chemical products etc.	...	...	1
Food industries	...	...	3·8
Industries of dress and toilet	...	...	7·8
Furniture industries	...	...	·03
Building industries	...	...	2
Construction of Means of transport	...	...	·06
Product on and transmission of physical forces (heat, light, electricity, motive power, etc.)	·015

OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE

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Industries of luxury8
Industries concerned with refuse matter	...	1'4
<i>IV.—Transport</i>	...	5
Transport by water	...	1
Transport by road	...	2'8
Transport by rail	...	1
Post Office, telegraph and telephone services	...	'8
<i>V.—Trade—</i>	...	17'8
Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	...	1'8
Brokerage, commission and export	...	'8
Trade in textiles	...	1'2
Trade in skins, leather and furs	...	'3
Trade in wood	...	'2
Trade in metals	...	'06
Trade in pottery	...	'1
Trade in chemical products	...	'17
Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	...	'7
Trade in food stuffs	...	9'5
Trade in clothing and toilet articles	...	'3
Trade in furniture	...	'17
Trade in building materials	...	'08
Trade in means of transport	...	'2
Trade in fuel	...	'5
Trade in articles of luxury	...	'5
Trade of other sorts	...	2'2
<i>VI.—Public force</i>	...	2'3
Army	...	'6
Navy	...	'004
Police	...	1'7
<i>VII.—Public administration</i>	...	1'6
<i>VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts</i>	...	5'3
Religion	...	2'7
Law	...	'3
Medicine	...	'6
Instruction	...	'7
Letters and arts and sciences	...	1
<i>IX.—Persons living principally on their Income</i>	...	'5
<i>D.—MISCELLANEOUS</i>	...	17
<i>X.—Domestic Service</i>	...	4'5

<i>XI—Insufficiently described Occupations</i>	...	9
<i>XII—Unproductive</i>	...	3'5
Inmates of jails, asylums and hospitals	...	'1
Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes	...	3'3

Economic Products.

The Chief agricultural produce are.—

1. **Rice**, cultivated extensively in Burma where the large waste areas are being gradually brought under cultivation, Bengal, Madras, and Behar and Orissa, and occasionally in the other Provinces. The area under this crop exceeds 80 million Acres. Most of the rice from Burma is exported to Europe or the farther East, but in times of scarcity it goes to the other provinces of India. The total annual yield averages about 700 million *Cwt.*

2. **Wheat** is grown widely throughout Northern India as a winter crop, the canal colonies of Punjab producing most. Panjab is the great grain field of the Empire for this wheat is largely exported, the percentage of export being more than 30. The total area under this crop is about 25 Million acres of which two-thirds is in Punjab alone. The total annual yield averages more than 10 million tons.

3. **Millets**, of which there are several varieties, constitute the most universal crop in India, as its cultivation extends from Madras to the Punjab. The variety known as *Jawar* (*Sorghum Valgare*) is the staple grain crop of Southern India. The *Bajra*, spiked Millet, is grown on the dry sandy soil of the Deccan and the Punjab. Its yield is poorer. There are other Millet crops cultivated to a small extent at other places. The total area under *Jowar* is 22 million and under *Bajra* 16 million acres. In the Bombay Deccan districts they cover more than 60% of the grain area, and more in years of drought. It is not much exported and is an important article of food for the poorer classes.

4. **Pulses**, or gram, mugh, etc., constitute an important rotation crop with rice or other crops, and are mostly grown in the gangetic plains. The total area is about 10 million acres.

5. **Oil-seeds**, chiefly rape, mustard, linseed, sesamum and Castor-oil, cover an extensive area, 15 million acres, as there is a flourishing export trade. Bengal, U. P., and Madras are the chief sources of supply. A very large quantity of the seeds are exported, but they are also largely pressed in the country, as oil is of universal domestic use in India. The total annual yield is about 3 million tons.

6. **Cotton** is one of the chief export from India but suffers greatly from competition with the American staple in being very short in fibre. It is principally grown in the Gujrat and Kathiawar Districts. The total area in India under this crop is about 14 million acres, and the average annual yield 2000 million pounds.

7. **Jute**, next to cotton, is the most important of Indian manufactures. Bengal enjoys a monopoly of this article, the cultivation being confined to a comparatively restricted area, more than three fourths of the total acreage (2.6 millions) being in East Bengal and Assam while the remainder fourth is in Bengal.

8. **Sugar cane**, occupying some 3.5 million acres mostly in the submontane tracts of Northern India, yielding in the average 2.7 million tons of cane sugar. The production is inadequate to meet the local demand and the manufacture of sugar is not run on a good profit basis, owing to the lack of organisation and large initial capital outlay. The consequence is that India imports foreign sugar, chiefly from Java and Mauritius, of 5 to 6 million pounds annually.

9. **Indigo**, once the most important export of India bringing enormous profit to European capital, has since 1860 been a dying industry, being unable to hold the field against the cheap synthetic Indigo of Germany. During the war an attempt was made to place it on a better footing, the German trade being cut out, but with little success. The pre war acreage under Indigo was about 2 millions but this has since risen to more than 7 millions and the total yield has increased from 46 thousand cwt., the pre war average, to about its double in 1918.

10. **Tea** cultivated chiefly in Assam, East Bengal and Southern India. More than two thirds of the total produce is from Assam alone. The total area under tea is more than half a million acres, yielding annually about 370 million pounds worth about 18 crores of Rupees. The industry is *par excellence* of British Capital, more than 80 % of the capital being held by shareholders in London.

There is a prosperous export trade, the chief consumers being the United kingdom, Canada, Russia, Australia and the United states of America. In recent years the export and market for Indian Tea in the whole world has been steadily rising. The total export in 1918 was 360 million pounds worth £ 11 million sterling.

11. **Coffee** is cultivated almost solely in Southern India and Ceylon—the coffee tract being the landward slope of the Western Ghats from Canara to Travancore in the extreme south. The article has almost no local market, the whole produce being exported to the United kingdom and France. Lately competition with the cheap Brazilian coffee is seriously hampering the Indian trade and the land is being gradually given up to the more paying Tea and Rubber cultivations. The export in 1918 was 196 thousand Cwts.

12. **Cinchona** cultivated in government farms at Darjeeling, the Nilgiris and Coorg. The amount produced is small and is distributed in cheap packets for the local use of the people.

Mineral Resources of India.

The chief Mining resources are :—Coal in Bengal and Behar, Gold in Mysore and South India, Petroleum in Burma, Mica in Bengal, Tin and Jade in Burma and Monazite and other deposits, Iron in Bengal and Central India.

Except in Bombay and Southern India *Coal* exists under a very extensive area in India, but it has only been opened up in the Dhanbad Districts of Behar, and Asansol and Ranigum in Bengal. There are also some mines in Hyderabad, Assam and the C. P. The *Iron* ore deposits of Singhbhum, Raipur, Maunbhanj (Orissa) are now being very extensively operated by the great Tata Iron and Steel Company of Sakchi (Jamshadpur) and the Bengal Iron and Steel Company of Barakar. The Tata Company turned out 167,870 tons of pig Iron and 114,027 tons of Steel and Steel rails in 1917 and the output is rapidly increasing ; and the Bengal Iron and Steel Company produced 80 thousand tons of pig and 2 thousand tons of cast-iron Castings. Besides these there are numerous smaller furnaces.

The great *oil fields* of India are in Burma which supplies 98% of the total output, the remainder comes from Assam. The total output in 1917 was 282 million gallons, worth a little more than one million pound sterling.

Of other minerals Manganese ore is found on the Madras coast midway between Calcutta and Madras most of which goes to England. The Central Province deposit of Manganese is now being worked up by the Tatas. Mica in the Hazaribagh districts and Tin in Tavoy and Margui (Burma) are important deposits. Copper ores are found in many places in India, plumbago in Madras and the C. P. and corundum in South India.

Total value of Minerals for the years 1916 and 1917.

Mineral.			1916	1917
			₹	₹
Coal	—	—	3,878,564	4,511,645
Gold	—	—	2,303,023	2,221,889
Manganese-ore	—	—	1,487,026	1,501,080
Petroleum	—	—	1,119,405	1,092,984
Salt	—	—	728,353	983,157
Saltpetre	—	—	607,488	527,686
Tungsten-ore	—	—	497,397	623,074
Lead and Lead ore	—	—	428,383	510,539
Mica	—	—	311,680	508,173
Building Materials and road metal	—	—	209,334	249,776
Silver	—	—	88,687	237,216
Tin-ore and Tin	—	—	39,302	66,533
Jade Stone	—	—	43,926	67,502
Iron ore	—	—	37,891	39,997
Monazite	—	—	37,714	56,489
Ruby, Sapphire and Spinel	—	—	37,513	51,831
Chromite	—	—	16,401	26,216
Magnetite	—	—	14,085	14,559
Alum	—	—	6,205	3,707
Clay	—	—	4,645	9,019
Copper-ore	—	—	3,359	30,182
Corundum	—	—	2,783	3,874
Stearite	—	—	2,628	6,470
Graphite	—	—	1,501	547
Ochre	—	—	941	1,630
Agate	—	—	783	255
Bismuth	—	—	—	163
Gypsum	—	—	745	1,034
Antimony-ore	—	—	508	139
Benite	—	—	453	620
Diamond	—	—	361	1,826
Molybdenite	—	—	302	636
Amber	—	—	157	684
Platinum	—	—	46	19
Asbestos	—	—	—	303
Total			11,916,469	13,351,364

Trade Returns of India.

The following two tables gives the declared value of imports and exports up to March 1918. The imports of merchandise were approximately the same in value as those of the preceding year ; the exports, however, show a decrease of 1 per cent. As is well known the imports are mainly of goods manufactured from raw materials which India herself mostly exports. Compared with the preceding year exports show a decline of 9% and imports an increase of 23%

Imports and exports of Private Merchandise and net imports of treasure on private account only.

PRIVATE MERCHANDISE IN 1000 Rs.	Pre-war annual Average	1916-17.	1917-18.
Imports of Mer- chandise	Ra. 1,45,84,72	Ra. 1,49,63,53	Ra. 1,50,42,51
Exports of Indian Merchandise ..	2,19,49,73	2,37,07,36	2,33,43,44
Re-exports of Foreign Mer- chandise ...	4,61,88	8,07,71	9,12,09
Total private Merchandise .	3,69,96,33	3,94,78,60	3,92,98,04
NET IMPORTS OF TREASURE (PRI- VATE). ..			
Gold (net imports)	28,96,34	13,57,6	19,93,96
Silver „ ..	7,20,91	—3,32,03	68,52
Total treasure (net imports).	36,07,25,	9,95,58	20,62,38

TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

*Imports and exports of Government store and net imports of
treasure on Government account.*

Government Account in 1000 Rs.	Pre-war Annual Average	1915-16	1916-17	1917-18
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Imports of Merchandise	5,82,28	6,18,31	10,61,37	13,92,97
Exports of Indian Merchandise	5,46	1,71,05	2,04,15	2,21,72
Re-exports of Foreign Merchandise	5,83	38,97	11,89	12,21
TOTAL STORES...	5,93,57,	8,28,33	12,77,41	16,26,90
NET IMPORTS OF TREASURE (ON GOVERNMENT (ACCOUNT).				
Gold (net imports) ...	—71,49	3,75	—4,07	5,24,00
Silver („) ...	3,51,97	—74,64	22,12,04	18,35,66
Total treasure (net imports)...	2,80,48	—70,89	22,07,97	23,59,66

Imports.—The chief articles of import are cotton goods, cotton yarn, metals, sugar, mineral oils, machinery, mill works and plants, woollen manufactures, hardware and cutlery, silk, liquors, apparels, railway-materials and chemicals. Owing to the war and the consequent want of bottoms India has suffered greatly. Cotton manufactures and yarns come exclusively from the United Kingdom and the prewar percentage of this trade to the whole imports was more than 43. The balance of trade is always against India as she is debtor country and has to pay interest on capital borrowed in England and elsewhere, also the huge "Home charges" which make such a disastrous drain upon the material and moral resources of the people.

Chief imports :—The Chief imports into India were as follows :—

					Pre-War Annual average	1916-7.	1917-18.
In 1000 Rs.					Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Cotton goods	..	..	..	..	48,40,85	49,01,57	52,40,74
" yarn	..	..	..	..	3,77,18	4,04,89	4,29,52
Sugar	..	..	..	..	13,17,58	15,45,03	15,31,98
Iron and steel	..	..	..	..	11,17,45	8,88,06	7,75,80
Machinery of all kinds, including belting					5,80,04	6,01,42	5,22,50
Chemicals, drugs, etc.	..	..	..		2,12,73	3,50,87	4,30,10
Silk, raw and manufactures	..	..			3,94,54	3,94,80	4,02,75
Mineral oil	..	..	..	..	3,72,03	4,43,93	3,64,07
Hardware	..	..	..	..	3,17,04	3,10,87	2,71,55
Liquors	..	..	..	..	2,02,46	2,33,01	2,49,96
Paper and paste board	..	..	..		1,27,07	2,33,10	2,31,12
Salt ..	..	..	..	..	79,16	1,91,46	2,20,08
Provisions	..	..	..	..	2,05,10	2,80,91	1,77,27
Motor cars and cycles	..	..	..		1,00,64	2,14,41	72,16
Railway plant and rolling-stock	..				6,10,94	1,55,86	49,83

Exports.—The chief exports are : raw cotton, cotton goods and yarn, rice, wheat, oilseeds, jute, hides, skins, tea, opium, and lac. The total exports for 1917—18 exceeded Rs 233 crores, 9 per cent above the annual pre war average. There was a large increase, of 52 per cent, or over Rs. 18 crores, in the export of food grains. How far this has operated bringing about the food scarcity and the consequent famine and riots in the country is matter which still awaits investigation. There was an increase in the export of raw cotton and manufactured Jute which rose by over Rs. 6 crores and Re. 1 crore respectively.

Chief Exports.—

			1917-18
1. Raw Cotton	...	...	Rs. 43 crores
2. Cotton manufactures...	...	...	„ 13 „
3. Cotton Yarn	...	...	„ 7'5 „
4. Cotton goods	...	...	„ 5'5 „
5. Food Grains (Rice, Maize, Wheat, Barley, Gram, Pulse. Millets, etc)			5'4
6. Raw Jute	...		6'4
7. Manufactured Jute	...		43
8. Hides and skins	...		2'3
9. Oil seeds	...		8'2
10. Raw Wool	...		4

TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

Other exports.	Average of pre-war An- nual.	1916-17	1917-18
In 1000 Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Lac	2,20,15	2,80,32	3,77,78
Metals and Ores—			
Manganese Ore ...	98,64	1,25,42	85,67
Wolfram ...	...	1,05	1,08,66
Others. ...	70,40	1,41,37	99,95
Opium	9,96,17	2,09,65	2,40,77
Dyes—Indigo	29,92	2,11,26	1,52,81
„ Other sorts... ..	85,00	91,75	69,77
Oils	91,90	1,51,61	2,05,98
Rubber	39,38	1,58,44	1,62,36
Paraffin wax	54,99	1,01,69	1,10,99
Spices	85,88	1,09,53	1,09,20
Saltpetre	34,99	1,05,55	88,74
Coffee	1,37,52	1,07,68	99,31
Hemp, raw	78,27	1,64,12	79,44
Mica	35,87	51,19	86,29
Provisions and oilman's stores	45,63	71,01	70,37
Coal and coke	75,77	76,22	23,90
Articles exported by post ...	90,76	1,39,98	1,46,39

TRADE RETURNS OF INDIA

THE BALANCE OF TRADE.

	Pre-war average	1916-17	1917-18
	£(1,000)	£(1,000)	£(1,000)
(1) Gross exports—private merchandise ...	149,411	163,434	161,708
(2) Gross imports— " " ...	97,233	99,757	100,283
(3) Net export " " ...	52,179	63,677	61,420
(4) Imports of Treasure and funds (private account)	52,404	33,282	49,830
(a) Net imports of Gold	19,242	2,797	14,306
(b) " " Silver ...	4,896	—1,440	971
" " Treasure ...	24,048	1,357	15,277
(c) " " Government Securities	878	542	737
(d) Council Bills	27,538	31,383	33,816
Balance of trade in favour of India ... ..	...	30,395	11,590
" " against India... ..	285	...	...

Budget for 1918—19

**Speech of the Finance Members, the Hon. Sir W. Meyer,
in the Imperial Legislative Council,
22, March 1918.**

The final figures of the Revised Estimate for 1917-18 and of the Budget Estimate for 1918-19 are given in separate formal statements. The broad results of the revenue account are brought out in the table below in which I have also shown in brackets for convenience of comparison the figures (now superseded) which were given in the corresponding table appearing in paragraph 54 of my speech introducing the Financial Statement.

The more important alterations in our figures occur under the entirely provincial or the 'divided heads of revenue and expenditure. Thus, owing to the unsatisfactory conditions of the paddy market in Burma the Local Government has had to postpone land revenue collections to a considerable extent with the result that these are now expected to fall short of the previous estimates for the current year by £500,000, of which we anticipate that £400,000 will be realised during the course of the next year. This affects both the Imperial and the Provincial estimates in each of the two years. There has been a similar postponement of a smaller amount namely, £67,000 in Bombay. In the latter province, however, a large increase of £233,000 is now expected in the excise revenue for next year, against which we have allowed proposals made by the Local Government for additional expenditure mainly on education and sanitation. Under purely Imperial heads the largest changes in our estimates are an increase in the Customs revenue of about £76,000 in the current year, and £100,000 in the next year. I need not refer to other alterations as these are of relatively minor importance.

The net result of the above changes, in so far as the Imperial position is concerned, is to reduce the surplus for 1917-18 by £114,000 and to increase that for next year by £291,000, the surplus for 1918-19 now standing at £2,582,000. Of this latter improvement, however, about £182,000 represents revenue thrown forward from the current year, and £108,000 a real improvement.

Revised Budget Estimate 1917-19

	BUDGET, 1917-18,			REVISED, 1917-18,			BUDGET, 1918-19,		
	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.	Imperial.	Provincial.	Total.
Revenue . . .	66,420	32,451	98,871	76,563 (76,677)	33,361 (33,724)	109,924 (110,401)	74,323 (73,999)	34,887 (34,348)	109,190 (108,347)
Ex penditure . .	66,284	32,549	98,833	70,852 (70,852)	31,523 (31,468)	102,375 (102,320)	71,721 (71,708)	34,766 (34,443)	106,477 (106,161)
Surplus (+) or deficit (-).	+136	-998	+988	+5,711 (+5,825)	+1,833 (+2,256)	+7,549 (+8,081)	+2,582 (+2,291)	+131 (-995)	+2,713 (+2,196)

These results would, so far as the ability to provide funds is concerned, permit the fulfilment of the conditional promise I made on the 9th instant with reference to a Resolution by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sarma, that if our final Budget figures justified it, we should, be prepared to make a supplementary grant of £200,000 for technical and agricultural education. But, as I indicated on that occasion, the sanction of the India Office was also required, and though that has just been received, it has arrived too late to allow of the alteration in figures which the allotment of this sum would require. But I assure the Council that we shall make a supplementary allotment as soon as possible, and thus furnish substantial evidence of the reality which we attach to our new procedure in respect of discussion of the Financial Statement.

"6. In the case of the provinces there will be a reduction in the surplus for 1917-18 of £418,000, but on the other hand the estimated deficit of £95,000 for 1918-19 will be converted into a surplus of £131,000, there being thus an improvement of £226,000. Concurrently with this conversion of the collective provincial deficit into a surplus, provision has been made for increased provincial expenditure next year to the extent of £313,000, this increase occurring mainly in Bombay where, as already stated, we have allowed the Local Government to apply the anticipated increase of £233,000 in excise receipts next year to beneficent expenditure, including £100,000 on education, £67,000 on sanitation, and a like amount for grants to local bodies for other purposes. We have also allowed them to draw on their provincial balances during the current year to the extent £80,000 for the last mentioned object. This is a very early fulfilment of the undertaking which I gave in connection with a resolution moved in the Council a short time ago to the effect that if later on improvement occurred in the provincial revenues we would consider very sympathetically the possibility of allowing the provinces to increase their outlay.

Turning to ways and means, recent heavy demand for Treasury Bills in Bombay warrants an increase of £1,333,000 on our previous estimate for 1917-18, involving a corresponding increase in the estimated repayments of the same from fresh bills next year. There has also been an improvement in savings bank deposits, and a falling off in payments on account of foreign money orders. On the other hand, we expect to meet during the current year additional military outlay, mainly on stores, to the extent of £660,000; a considerable part of this will probably be recovered later, and the expenditure is meanwhile shown provisionally under the suspense head. As the net result of these and other

less important alterations, we now expect that our cash balance in India at the end of the current year will be £16,522,000, or an increase of £553,000 on the figure adopted in the Financial Statement; while our closing balance for next year will stand at £12,273,000, being an increase of £1,153,000, over that previously taken and practically equivalent to the normal closing balance we look to.

"As regards England, the Secretary of State expects that his balance will be larger by £1,745,000 at the end of the current year and next, owing to additional and more prompt recoveries from the War Office and the Admiralty.

FINANCIAL DETAILS

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Heads of Revenue and Expenditure.	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918.	Budget Estimate, 1918-1919.
REVENUE.			
	in 100 £		
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	22,041.2	22,191.1	22,359.5
Opium	3,160.0	3,068.4	3,191.8
Salt	4,826.2	5,432.8	3,492.2
Stamps	5,776.6	5,745.0	5,928.0
Excise	9,215.8	10,050.1	10,373.7
Customs	8,659.1	11,127.9	10,714.4
Income Tax	3,772.9	6,075.8	6,312.2
Other Heads	3,655.1	3,861.3	3,870.7
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS ...	61,107.4	67,554.5	66,243.5
Interest	1,136.5	2,245.3	3,552.6
Posts and Telegraphs	4,174.6	4,492.1	4,782.8
Mint	689.8	530.7	376.0
Receipts by Civil Departments ...	1,739.7	1,926.7	1,956.1
Miscellaneous	847.5	2,599.9	1,295.2
Railways : Net Receipts	21,313.7	24,051.6	22,983.7
Irrigation	5,155.6	5,174.0	5,320.4
Other Public Works	309.3	218.2	304.9
Military Receipts	1,575.9	1,502.2	1,532.7
TOTAL REVENUE ...	98,050.4	110,401.3	108,346.9
EXPENDITURE.			
Direct Demands on the Revenues	9,328.6	9,919.0	10,429.3
Interest	1,174.8	7,797.5	7,784.3
Posts and Telegraphs	3,441.3	3,699.0	3,931.4
Mint			
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	167.4	179.8	170.0
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	19,081.2	20,915.1	22,992.0
Famine Relief and Insurance	5,414.2	5,894.8	5,614.7
Railways : Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	1,000.0	1,000.0	1,000.0
Irrigation	13,831.9	13,876.8	13,782.0
Other Public Works	3,549.9	3,742.8	3,922.7
Military Services	4,618.5	5,110.5	5,945.6
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL AND PROVINCIAL ...	36,566.7	20,284.7	20,522.7
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE.	88,174.9	102,320.0	106,150.7
<i>Add</i> Provincial Surpluses, † ...	2,397.3	2,322.9	251.4
<i>Deduct</i> Provincial Deficits, ‡ ...	...	66.7	445.7
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE.	90,572.2	104,576.2	106,055.4
SURPLUS ...	7,478.1	5,825.1	2,291.5
TOTAL ...	98,050.4	110,401.3	108,346.9

† that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.

‡ that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balance.

**General Statement of the Revenue and
Expenditure Charged to.**

	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Budget Estimate, 1917-18.	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918.	Budget Estimate, 1918-1919
Revenue—	£	100£	100£	100£
Principal Heads of R.				
Land Revenue ...	22,041,265	22,218,2	21,611,1	22,798,6
Opium ...	3,160,005	3,389,3	3,068,5	3,191,8
Salt ...	4,826,260	3,972,9	5,472,8	3,492,2
Stamps ...	5,776,696	5,952,1	5,745,0	5,938,0
Excise ...	9,215,899	9,328,2	10,076,8	10,647,0
Customs ...	8,659,182	9,394,8	11,204,2	10,814,4
Income Tax ...	3,772,967	5,129,3	6,075,8	6,333,2
Other Heads ...	3,655,196	3,465,6	3,828,0	3,870,7
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS	61,107,470	62,850,4	67,082,2	67,085,9
Interest ...	1,136,504	2,095,7	2,245,3	3,552,6
Posts and Telegraphs	4,174,607	4,345,7	4,492,1	4,782,8
Mint ...	689,866	139,1	530,7	376,0
Receipts by Civil Departments ...	1,739,713	1,700,3	1,926,7	1,956,1
Miscellaneous ...	847,530	743,0	2,599,9	1,295,2
Railways : Net Receipts	21,313,797	20,253,0	24,051,6	22,983,7
Irrigation ...	5,155,624	5,125,3	5,174,7	5,320,4
Other Public Works	309,373	285,2	318,9	304,9
Military Receipts ...	1,575,946	1,327,1	1,502,2	1,532,7
TOTAL REVENUE...	98,050,430	98,870,8	109,924,3	109,190,3

**Revenue, of the Government of India, in
India and in England**

	Accounts, 1916-1917.	Budget Estimate, 1917-1918	Revised Estimate, 1917-1918	Budget Estimate 1918-1919
Expenditure—	£	100£	100£	100£
Direct Demands on the Revenues ...	9,328,668	10,027,5	9,950,3	10,454,9
Interest ...	1,174,864	6,832,8	7,797,5	7,784,3
Posts and Telegraphs	3,441,387	3,601,9	3,599,0	3,931,4
Mint ...	167,411	108,6	179,8	170,0
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments	19,081,230	21,089,8	20,936,8	23,164,3
Miscellaneous Civil Charges ...	5,414,272	5,419,2	5,894,8	5,671,5
Famine Relief and Insurance ...	1,000,000	1,000,0	1,000,0	1,000,0
Railways : Interest and Miscellaneous Charges ...	13,831,922	14,147,4	13,876,8	13,782,0
Irrigation ...	3,549,912	3,834,1	3,732,8	3,928,7
Other Public Works				
Military Services ...	4,618,535	5,544,8	5,122,5	6,057,7
TOTAL EXPENDITURE,	26,566,757	87,227,1	30,284,7	30,532,7
IMPERIAL AND PROVIN :	88,174,958	98,833,2	102,375,0	106,477,4
<i>Add</i> -Provincial Sur- pluses : † ...	2,397,302	240,3	2,068,6	572,6
<i>Deduct</i> -Provincial De- ficits : ‡ ...	...	338,1	231,2	441,2
TOTAL EXPENDITURE				
CHARGED TO REVENUE	90,572,260	98,735,4	104,212,7	106,605,8
SURPLUS ...	7,478,170	135,4	5,711,6	2,581,5
TOTAL ...	98,050,430	98,870,8	109,924,3	109,190,

† that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.

‡ that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCES.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

Early in 1918 the War wore an aspect ominously threatening the Allies on all fronts, and the Eastern menace assumed proportions which could neither be neglected nor denied. In phenomenal succession Russia collapsed, the Tsar and his family were brutally murdered, the nobility massacred, all past secret treaties and State documents were torn up, all land seized and distributed equally to the People, and Bolshevism came to be the supreme National Creed. In the welter of riot and anarchy the whole country passed silently into the hands of Germany. That Power at once saw her opportunity, concluded an alliance with the Bolshevik government, subsidised Russia and aimed at a general confusion and conflagration in Central Asia and the frontiers of India. Southern Russia was occupied by German hordes, new Turkish Divisions were moved across the Black sea to Batum and the Caucasus, Turkish troops invaded the province of Azerbaijan in Persia ; and rapid preparations were made to cross the Caspian and carry the War into Central Asia and Persia. The situation clearly enough was becoming very threatening and on April 2nd the Prime Minister addressed to the Viceroy the following telegram :—

The Premier's Message.

“ At this time, when the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny, not only over all Europe, but over Asia as well, has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies, assisted by their Allies, the attempts of the enemy in the West are being checked, but if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the East and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won, and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present, to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder which it is the object of the enemy to achieve.”

The Viceroy replied on April 5th.—“ Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those

sacrifices evince. India, anxious yet confident, realizes to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict, and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the Princes and the Peoples' leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British Empire stands."

The Premier's message for the first time in India sent a thrill throughout the country which it had not experienced even in four years of war. It showed for the first time that the war may at any time be carried into Indian soil or the frontiers, and people's apprehensions and expectations ran high. The whole country was astir; the traditional eastern apathy was for once laid aside, and men began to question if they could not really help and do something new. Great was the intensity of feeling; greater still the hopes for a better and nobler field of work. Circumstances demanded a united India voicing forth its feelings and the Viceroy, as the only leader for such an occasion, called a special War conference of Princes and Peoples at Delhi on April 27, 1918. This conference sat for 3 days, 27th to 29th April, and was attended by the Ruling Chiefs, the members of Viceroy's Council, and delegates representing all shades of political opinion sent by the Provincial Governments.

DELHI WAR CONFERENCE—27 April, 1918.

The Viceroy Speech.

We are met together, princes and people, from all the ends of India—I wish I could have summoned more—with no pomp and circumstance, no pageantry, no clash of arms or music, to show that India's word given in the soft days of peace holds good in the iron times of war, to prove that India remains now, as ever, true to her salt. We are met here, then, with a quite purpose and stern resolve to answer the call which our King Emperor makes to us. And what is the call to-day after well nigh four completed years of war? The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might?" or "Is might right." And your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that right is might. Do I err when I state the issue thus? We hold that moral purpose is the achievement of right. Can we say

the same of our foes? None of us can forget the German Chancellor's cynical avowal in the opening days of the war that "necessity knows no law." We remember blazing Louvain. We hear the cries of children. Old men are shot, women are outraged, and butchered. We have had the tale of German rule in South-West Africa. So I could go on with the gruesome history of these four years. And now where do we stand? In the West the armed hosts face each other locked in deadly conflict. The battle sways this way and that. Our forces have been pressed back under the weight of the German armies released from the Russian front.

The menace to the East.

But in the meantime Germany, with that thoroughness which might have been devoted to a better cause, has not been idle in the East. I will take your minds back a few years. Germany has long cast her eyes eastward. In her dream of world domination the East has always loomed large, and many years ago Germany concentrated her diplomacy on the moral and political capture of Turkey as her servitor. A path to the East was open and she could use the influence and prestige of Turkey in the Moslem world for the furtherance of her own aims. I need not dwell on her pre-war plans in regard to the Baghdad railway and other matters in Asia-Minor and Mesopotamia. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe, Germany succeeded, with the help of a clique bound by self-interest to her service, in dragging Turkey into a share with which she had no concern, regardless of the ruin caused to that unhappy country now. In this policy Germany was prompted not only by her craving for Eastern dominion, but also by the hope that she might cause thereby the maximum embarrassment in the East to her chief enemy, Great Britain. In the first place she hoped that the Moslems of India would be duped into the belief that this secular war with Turkey, thrust on us against our will, was a religious war, and would be shaken in their allegiance to Great Britain. But in this she was destined to disappointment. The Indian Moslems were quick to realise that this was not a matter of religion but a secular trap, into which they were too wise and too loyal to walk. The Indian Moslems, with their religion safeguarded and secured as it has always been and always will be under British rule have stood loyal to the great Empire of whom they form so vital a part. In the second place, Germany hoped to secure an open and unmolested path to the Persian Gulf, whence she might harry Indian communications and Indian commerce with her submarines, and, perhaps eventually, by intrigue and terrorism in Persia, bring the war to the

confines of India itself. But here again she is thwarted. Our gallant armies in Mesopotamia, to which India has contributed so generously, have now succeeded by victory after victory in securing the great plains of Mesopotamia so that no danger can, I hope and believe, again threaten us from that quarter. By our operations in Mesopotamia we have not only steadied the Middle East, but are defending India by the best way possible from direct German aggression.

You will ask:—Where then is the menace of which the Prime Minister speaks? The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness, and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route, and, as yet, preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction; but the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war, as in no war before, we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not, and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of; but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia. To this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the fame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies, regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared, then she will look for the opportunity.

The Need for Men.

I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland. And, now the Prime Minister has sent forth his trumpet call and spoken of the menace to the East, I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands. There is no reason for apprehension. Forewarned we are forearmed, and, if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear. India is true to her allegiance. India stands for the right. No man addressing such an audience and stating such a cause can

doubt for one moment what the response will be. I have spoken of the cause. I have told you of the death-grip on the Western front and have unfolded to you the story of German machinations in the East.

If the war were to stop to-morrow the tale of India's share in the great war would form no unworthy page in her glorious annals. Her sons have fought not without glory on every front. In East Africa, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, they have borne away victorious laurels. They still flock to the colours, but until victory is achieved we cannot relax our efforts. I have summoned you to Delhi not simply that you may listen to me, move resolutions, and then disperse; but I have asked you to come and help with your counsel and advice now, and with your personal endeavour when you return to your homes.

In due course you will be invited to appoint two committees, one on man-power and another on resources. The Commander-in-Chief and other members of my Executive Council, assisted by expert advisers, will lay before the committees informations which will enable them to review the situation and report to the Conference on Monday. I might speak to you to-day of the help which India could give in many directions. We can of our plenty give more to those who go short. We can become more self-sufficing. We can learn to do without things. But these are questions which can be better discussed in committee.

While I am speaking the great issue still hangs on the balance upon the battle fields of France. It is there that the ultimate decision of India's fate will be taken. I have told you of the situation in the East, not because I think your pulses can only be quickened by an indication of peril to yourselves, but because through it you may be able to see clearly where our path of duty lies. Let me be able to tell the Prime Minister that he need have no fear for the East—that here India will do watch and ward, that here she will take full responsibility.

We Must Close our Ranks.

But, if we are to do these things, we must close our ranks. In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning, and surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary

of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home, carrying with him a joint report and recommendations on the momentous declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government last August. He has left in full confidence that India will not prove deaf to the call which has been made. I read with great satisfaction the telegram of the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council, in which they expressed their trust that the people of India will put aside all difference of opinion and disputes and will concentrate their whole energy upon a supreme endeavour to prevent the tyranny of the German Empire from engulfing the whole world. Surely that should be the aim of us all. I am ready, aye more than ready, to concert with those who will meet me on this common platform. But in these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those while the house is burning, there are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those, again, who would wish to bargain. Again I decline to believe that anyone has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over, but our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard and we have a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say : "Let us pass on, for God's sake, let us pass on".

Message from the King.—At the conclusion of his speech, the Viceroy read to the Conference the following message from His Majesty the King-Emperor :—

"I learn with deep satisfaction that in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, representatives of the provincial Governments and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in Conference at Delhi to re-affirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world.

Great as has been India's contribution to the common cause of the allies, it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development and the fuller utilisation of her man-power will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy her people will not fail in their endeavours. Recent events have made the struggle on the western front more bitter and more intense. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever-increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifices without which no high object, no lasting victory, can be achieved."

Following the Viceroy's speech, the Conference appointed committees on Man-power and Resources, and adjourned whilst these two committees were considering in detail the points put before them. The following recommendations were made :—

Man-power.—(i) That this Committee recommend that the Conference tender to His Majesty the King-Emperor a suitable acknowledgment of his gracious message to which India will respond with enthusiastic alacrity.

(ii) That this Committee offers its cordial support to the Government of India in largely increasing voluntary recruitment during the present year.

The Sub-Committee are of opinion that India's effort should be a voluntary one, and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription.

(iii) That this Committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians, and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions.

(iv) That this Committee recommend that Govt. be invited to consider without delay, the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers.

(v) That this Committee desire that the question of the constitution and development of (a) publicity Bureau and (b) Employment Bureau in the various provinces be commended to the favourable consideration of Government.

Resources.—The Committee on Resources submitted the following recommendations :—

Resolution 1.—(a) "This Conference recommends that provincial and—where this is desirable—State committees, on the former of which non-official Indian opinion should be adequately represented, should be formed for the purpose of advising Government departments and of encouraging the people to confine their private requirements as nearly as possible to local products, in order to save unnecessary demands for railway transport, and for the further purpose of advising Directors of Civil Supplies as to the special necessities of any districts and as to the commodities for which they think that priority should be given on the railways."

(b) This Conference recommends that for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways, it is necessary that the Government should, with as little delay as possible, take measures for the construction by itself of river craft for inland transport, of sailing ships for ocean transport and also as far as possible of steamships, and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of the same by private agencies."

2. In the next place, and with the same end in view, the Sub-Committee are persuaded that considerable development is possible in the local production of war materials and other munitions, and that by organising a provincial machinery much could be done towards reducing the local consumption of material needed for war use. The existence of such provincial organisations would also, the Sub-Committee believe, be useful in preventing or alleviating local irregularities in, and inflation of, prices. For these reasons they commend to the Conference the adoption of the following Resolution :—

Resolution II.—"This Conference recommends that provincial, and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed to advise the provincial Controllers of Munitions regarding the measures to be adopted for—

* (a) stimulating the local production of war materials :

(b) reducing the local consumption of materials wanted for war use ;

(c) preventing local irregularities in, and inflation of prices."

3. For the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing Resolution the Sub-Committee think it necessary that the Munitions Board—upon which it is desirable that Indians should be appointed—should

be in close communication with the proposed committees, and to this end, they recommend that the following Resolution be passed:—

Resolution III.—"This conference recommends that the Munitions Board should place itself in communication with the provincial and State committees, where these are formed, for the purpose of organising district work in connection with the supply of materials for war use."

4. In connection with the development of India's resources in food-stuffs the Sub-Committee have reason to believe that useful results would accrue from the appointment in all provinces—and, where this is desirable, in States—of committees acting in co-operation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist. The functions of such committees should be to educate the agriculturist in the direction of making the best possible use of his land for the production of different kinds of food-stuffs, and to obtain and disseminate information in the districts in regard to facilities for procuring fertilisers of all kinds for the development of agriculture. To this end the Sub-Committee suggest the adoption of the following Resolution.—

Resolution IV.—"This Conference advises that provincial, and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed with, if necessary, subordinate district committees—to advise in consultation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist, in regard to the possibilities of developing the production of particular foodstuffs, and to collate and propagate information likely to be of value to the agriculturists on the subject of manures, implements, etc., required for such development; also to recommend to the Government what steps might be taken to facilitate the cultivation of waste lands."

5. Lastly, the Committee recommend that the Munitions Board and the various advisory committees constituted for war work should, as far as this is consistent with public interest, issue periodical communiques or reports giving information as to their activities, requirements, and results.

The Delhi Conference—April 29, 1918.

The Conference met again on April 29th, the Viceroy presiding. The Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde, member, Imperial Legislative Council, wanted to move a resolution on the grant of equal status of citizenship to Indians. This had a strong following but was over-ruled. The Viceroy in opening the proceedings said: "Your Highnesses and gentlemen, before proceeding with the agenda which you all

have in your hands, I wish to inform this Conference that I have received notice of a resolution from the Hon. Mr. Khaparde. The resolution is as follows : "That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man power and material and money, the Govt. in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament to meet the demands of the people to establish Responsible Govt. in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their motherland for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as other members thereof, and we are further assured that if the imagination of our country be captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged, it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith, and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the Kings equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Viceroy ruled the resolution out of order, for, he said that that was a war Conference summoned to discuss how best India could help the Empire in Man-power and Material resources, and the resolution did not really come within the scope of the Conference. Further the Conference was an Imperial Conference of the Ruling Princes as well as of the People of India. He said :

"There is a fundamental governing principle which rules the relations between the Native states and British India. We do not interfere in the internal concerns of the Native States and conversely we do not expect their Highnesses to interfere in our affairs. Therefore on this occasion if this resolution were admitted we should be asking their Highnesses to discuss and to vote on a matter which I for one distinctly say is not in their purview, and I feel that their Highnesses would be the first to disclaim any wish to do so and would in fact decline to do it. Therefore on all these grounds I am bound to rule this resolution out of order. I gave the Hon. Member notice of my intention and I told him that I should put the resolution as he drafted it before the conference, and I also told him that I should inform the conference of the considered opinion which I have arrived at upon this resolution to show that I had considered it carefully and after the consideration had felt that it was not in my power to accept it."

The Gaekwar of Boroda then moved the first resolution

of loyalty. He said His Majesty's appeal to our sense of patriotism had fallen upon no deaf ears and Indians would do the utmost to ensure the triumph of right over might to which they all looked forward with entire confidence.

The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior followed : India, he said, would do her duty to the utmost in this hour of great crisis which had arisen.

The Viceroy then introduced the Begum of Bhopal, explaining that Her Highness should have been invited to speak earlier. The Begum then rose and in clear voice she herself read the patriotic speech in English expressing the unalterable resolve of her State to support the British Empire to the utmost in this time of trial. Nothing in love, in sympathy, or in help should be lacking.

The Maharaja of Bikanir said the time was verily one for active deeds and not for mere words. He would therefore be brief. The services India was proud to have rendered in this momentous struggle were the outcome of her unquestioned and whole-hearted loyalty and devotion to the King Emperor—a loyalty which had no price and was not for barter or for sale. Woe betide the people that did not defend itself ; everything else was of altogether secondary importance. The horrors of what invasion of India would mean could only be realised by those who had seen it in Belgium and France. He was confident that this conference would lead to redoubled effort so that tyranny might be overthrown, and as to his own State, his troops had been continuously away on field service abroad, and reserves had been kept up throughout at home. They had also contributed, he hoped, to the full extent of resources of his State in other ways. His own sword was at the service of the King-Emperor and they would stand or fall with him.

The Maharaja of Patiala followed in a similar strain.

Mr Surendra Nath Banerjee also supported the resolution and said never was the Empire confronted with a graver crisis.

The Rajah of Mahmudabad also supported the resolution and said everyone in India was united in one resolve, namely, to see this conflict through and through to victorious termination.

Mr Srinivas Sastri also supported the resolution.

Mr Hasan Imam said he supported the resolution on behalf of the province of Behar and Orissa.

Mr. Gandhi speaking partly in the vernacular said he supported the resolution with all his heart (applause).

Pundit Malaviya was proud to find how the Princes and people of India were in union in supporting the resolution. The task before them was a huge one. He was sure there was a guarantee

in this gathering that great effort to accomplish it would be made but there was need to infuse the right spirit into the men. They were asking them to risk their lives and to this end he would ask all to take a lesson from Aurangazebe and Guru Govind Singh who enlisted the humblest classes as well as the Rajputs and obliterated all distinctions between the Guru and the pupil. At this great crisis also there should be equality of opportunities to all, to the humble and the highly born, to the Indian and to the European alike. Thus, as in the time of Guru Govind Singh, tyranny would once more be over-thrown. The conditions necessary to enable Indians to do their best must be established. There must be a feeling of freedom and equality of opportunity. He knew that constitutional reforms could not now be announced in detail, but if some general statement could be made, that a day of equal opportunity and freedom was to dawn, this would go far to help.

Mr. Ironside speaking on behalf of the commercial community also supported the resolution.

Sardar Sundar Singh supported the resolution on behalf of the Punjab.

Mr. Maung Bah Too also supported the resolution.

Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis also supported the resolution. He said there was only one question throughout the country and that was how best to meet the common danger to their common Empire. United they stood, divided they fell.

Mr. Chanda and others also spoke in support of this resolution.

The loyalty resolution was carried by acclamation.

The Maharaja of Kashmir then moved the second resolution endorsing the recommendations of the sub-committees. It was their birthright, he said, to defend their hearths and homes.

The Maharaja of Alwar also supported the resolution.

The Maharaja of Dholpur said India was capable of yet greater efforts. They must make up their minds that more was possible and try to bring home to everyone that they should help.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala cordially supported the resolution.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer also supported the resolution.

Mr. Mazumdar supporting the resolution said the future of England hung in the balance and the fate of India with it.

Sir Narayan Chandravarkar also supported the resolution. He said the sparrows of India could yet smite the eagles of Prussia!

Mr. Crum supported the resolution in the name not only of the commercial community of Calcutta but also in that of the province of Bengal.

Mr. Mudholkar also supported the resolution.

Mr. Madhosudan Das and Mr. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury also supported the resolution.

The Resolution was then put by the Viceroy and was passed by acclamation.

War Gifts.—The Viceroy, in closing the Conference, announced the following War contributions from the Ruling Princes present:—

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda	... 15 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior	... 15 lakhs a year so long as the war continues.
His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir	... 5 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur	... 5 lakhs.
His Highness the Maharao of Kuch	... 1 lakh a year for the period of the war.
His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar	... 1 lakh.
His Highness the Maharaja Jam Shaib of Nawanagar	... 3 lakhs a year as long as the war lasts.

BENGAL WAR CONFERENCE—MAY, 1918.

The Bengal Conference met on the 2nd. May, 1918 at the Government House under the presidency of the Governor. In opening the proceedings His Excellency Lord Ronaldshey said in the course of his speech:—

“ I am grateful to Bengal for what has already been done. Twelve crores of rupees were subscribed in this presidency in the last war loan. Sixteen and half lakhs of rupees were given by this presidency to Our Day Fund and large sums have been given to other useful institutions which are carrying on war work, that is to say, the Y. M. C. A., and other bodies. The strain upon the financial resources of the Empire is a steadily increasing one. A new loan is shortly to be floated and I desire to make an appeal to all those who are in a position to do so to give us such help as they can in making the subscription to the new war loan an unqualified success. We have already appointed a committee to consider the best means of popularising the loan and we shall welcome any suggestion from whatever source it may come as to what further steps we may usefully take. Now Bengal's record is a finer one than is perhaps generally realised. Bengal has already provided something like 56,000 noncombatants for service connected with the war (applause.) That is a result for which I desire to express to all who were concerned my hearty and grateful thanks. When

we come to the matter of combatants, Bengal's record is not quite so worthy of note. The Bengalee battalion has since its inception contributed to it approximately some 2500 men, that is to say, on an average something rather less than 120 men each month. Now I anticipate that we shall be asked to do very much more now in the direction of supplying men for combatants service and I appreciate the fact that we shall have to spread our net very much wider than we have done up to the present time. We shall have to go to the districts and appeal not only to the educated classes, as we have done up to the present time, but to appeal very much more widely to the agriculturists and artisans. It is possible that the means which have been proposed by the conference at Delhi for further popularising recruitment for combatants service may have a beneficial effect. I refer to the suggestion which have been made for increasing the pay of the soldier and to the proposal for the grant of a number of commissions to members who join the new Indian army. So far as that goes we have no definite instructions from the Government of India, but I am prepared to say on behalf of the Bengal Government that any suggestion of the kind which may be made to us will meet with our hearty and cordial support (applause.) Now you may ask me whether I can give you a figure up to which I think the people of Bengal ought to be asked—I myself am a great believer in laying down a defined standard up to which you should be able to work. They then know what it is that you expect them to do. The figure which I suggest is that the Recruiting Board should lay down as its standard figure one thousand fit combatants every month. I know that there may be difficulty in obtaining that number. I know it may be necessary to make some alteration in our present methods of recruitment, and it is with regard to that matter that I shall rely upon the whole-hearted co-operation of the non-official community for their assistance and for their experience (applause.) I shall propose, as soon as I have definite instructions from the Govt. of India, to communicate with the Recruiting Board of the presidency coupled with the Bengalee Battalion Recruiting Committee. I shall tell them what our demands are and I shall ask them to submit to the Govt. such a scheme as they may consider best conceived to achieve the object which we have in view. Let me say here and now that if any one here present is of opinion that there are interests or classes in this presidency who are not at present adequately represented upon the Recruiting Board, we shall be only too glad in due course to receive any suggestion which they might desire to make for sending such representatives to it.

It is possible that beside increasing our recruitment among the Indians of this presidency we may be asked to add a further modicum from the European non-official community. There again I am not now in a position to make a definite proposal, but I merely say here that should such a request be made to us I should count with every confidence upon any representation of the non-official European Community, whom we may desire to consult, to give us their best advice and assistance in that difficult matter.

The only other point which I have to mention is this. Grave misapprehension is liable to be created by discussions on the platform and in the press on the necessity of compulsory service. It may be that those who do not understand what is meant by conscription, or by a modified form of conscription, or by whatever term you may like to describe any form of compulsory service, it may be that among those who do not understand this, you are more likely to create a panic than to do good (applause.) I am most desirous that everything that we have to do, everything that we desire to see done, should so far as possible be made public. I want everybody in the presidency to understand what it is that is asked of them and how it is that we propose to ask them to meet our requirements, and in this connection I shall welcome the recommendations which were made in the Delhi Conference to constitute a Publicity Board which shall have branches in every presidency throughout India and which will serve the purpose of keeping the public at large fully informed not only as to what is being done but what we propose to do and how welcome to do it."

His Highness the **Maharaja of Cooch Behar** then moved the following resolution :—"That this Conference of representatives of all classes and interests in the Presidency of Bengal desires to place on record its complete agreement with the response made by the Conference recently assembled at Delhi to the gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor and its determination to co-operate whole-heartedly in any measures which in the present crisis may be deemed necessary for the achievement of final victory over the enemies of the British Empire".

Mr. B. Chakravarti in supporting this resolution said :—

"So far as I am concerned, I think your Excellency is aware. and all you gentlemen assembled here know, that I entertain strong political views. There is no question about that. But at the same time I think you will do me the honour that with regard to recruitment, I entertain even stronger views, and because my politics is so strong I say that recruitment ought to be not in tens, not in hundreds, but in thousands. For the success of recruitment,

and not as a matter of bargain, we made certain suggestions in the man-power committee at Delhi including the suggestion as to a general amnesty for deportees, internees, and political prisoners, and with the same object in view I was in support of the motion notice of which was given by the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde at the Delhi War Conference. They were not acceptable to the Government. How that will affect the complete success of our efforts has been mentioned in a public manifesto signed by myself along with other persons.

Be that as it may, the decree has been passed and however defective and unsatisfactory it may be, as a lawyer I am not going to quarrel with it. The Executing Court is Your Excellency and so far as I am concerned you will find me supporting Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government in the due execution of the decree which has been passed, although many of us are honestly of opinion that the decree should not have been passed in that form.

At the same time I must say that a thousand men from Bengal, under the present circumstances of irritation and disappointment, is a large number and I will tell you the reason why. It is possible that in course of time we may be able to enlist thousands of Hindus and Mahomedans. But from my experience of the country—for with Dr. S. K. Mullick I have gone to many places all over the country for recruiting purposes—and from my knowledge I do not think that it is possible at the present moment to enlist the agriculturists and artisans to come forward and join the Army. (Hear, hear). One of the reasons is with regard to pay—because the man makes a great deal more than Rs. 11, and even when the pay is increased by Rs. 6, that also is not sufficiently attractive to him because he makes a great deal more than that. Now, that being so, recruitment must be for the present at any rate confined to the educated middle classes. I heard at Delhi that the number wanted is something like 600,000 men. I cannot expect that Bengal's contribution will be anything appreciable with regard to that. Even with regard to 1000 men, we shall have to find these from students of the Colleges—probably some of them have already left Colleges, from amongst young men who have already left Colleges—who are either in service or seeking for it. Now, in order to create enthusiasm among them there are certain things necessary and we have repeated them so often that at this late hour I will not dilate on them. But the promise of the King's Commission is certainly to our advantage—it will greatly strengthen our hands. Then, if early steps are taken for the training of officers, that again will also be an inducement for certain classes of young-

men now reading in the Colleges and belonging to richer families and their examples again will be followed by others. Then this increase of pay—although above 50 per cent and will be a burden on the public revenues to the extent of some 2½ crores of rupees, will not be sufficiently attractive here. However, these matters will certainly strengthen our hands.

The Arms Act.

Then there is another thing. For sometime we have rightly or wrongly been gibbing at the Arms Act and it was openly suggested at Delhi that the Viceroy has already given direction that new rules are to be published with regard to that. As to what these rules are going to be, I do not know. If these rules come up to reasonable popular expectations, it may be, that also will go to strengthen our hands.

The question then is with regard to money. As regards money there is at present need for it as separation allowances, i.e. for the relief of the people who are left behind by some of those youngmen. But some of them are of rich families and they have not asked for any help and they have not got any help. But all of them are not of rich families and if Rs. 17 be the pay, I think in future more money will have to be found for separation allowances. I know some of the Noblemen have been generous in the past and I have no doubt they will be generous in the future but that begging policy will not do. As regards the counsel of perfection which my friend Sir Rajendra gave with regard to new taxation, that won't do in Bengal. The economic position of the ryot depends on jute, and the economic position of the zemindar depends upon the ryot. Although it is generally understood and generally accepted that the Bengal zemindars are so many "Cræsusses", I can assure you, that is very far from the truth, and you may wonder when you are told that the times are so bad that many of them have to borrow money to meet the Government demands. That is the position. Therefore, it is no use attempting to start further taxation.

But there are certain moneys—whether Your Excellency's Government can utilise them or not I do not know. I have not considered it from the legal aspect of the matter or the administrative aspect. But I will give some examples. There is Rs. 6,50,000 set apart for the purpose of partitioning the district of Mymensingh. Mymensingh at present is said to be too big a charge for one administration and therefore it has to be partitioned into two! I think that partition may stand over for sometime longer and if it is possible, that money may be diverted to military

purposes. I hope Your Excellency's Government will do it. There is a further sum of Rs. 6,64,000 for the partition of Midnapur. The same reasons being applied here, this amount may also be diverted for war purposes.

Then, I am told, there is something like 20 lacs set apart for steamers and quarters for the use of a very useful body of men, viz. the Police, but they may be persuaded to put up with a little inconvenience until we have gone through the war and this 20 lacs may also be diverted to military purposes. I only give these as examples; these matters will have to be worked out and the budget may have to be recast.

I have only two more matters to mention. With regard to the Bureaus, one is for the purpose of giving information to the people with regard to their position either advantageous or disadvantageous in this war. I think it is an excellent thing for the purpose of creating general interest in the war, and people must understand how far they are affected with regard to their homes and hearths. Then there is another part which has been suggested by the resolution at Delhi and that is with regard to employment. I know there are plenty of people who may not join the combatant forces but they are quite willing to serve as Post office or Telegraph clerks or as Transportmen or in the Commissariat.

In conclusion, I frankly say that in the present state of things I have considerable apprehension as to the complete success of our efforts: but notwithstanding the same and my political views, I can assure Your Excellency that you will have my whole-hearted and unstinted support for all that it may be worth.

THE C. P. WAR CONFERENCE—MAY 4, 1918.

Representatives of the Central Provinces and Berar met on May 4, 1918 at the war Conference held in the Council Hall, the Hon'ble Sir Benjamin Robertson presiding. The resolutions adopted at the Delhi Conference were re-affirmed: the first was moved by the Hon'ble Sir G. Chitnavis, and the second by the Hon'ble Mr. M. Dadabhoy. The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Bose and the Hon'bles T. Thecker Dixit, Nawab Salimulla Khan, Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Malak, representing different interests wholeheartedly supported the resolutions both on their own behalf and on that of the people.

PUNJAB WAR CONFERENCE—

May 4, 1918.

The Punjab war conference met at Lahore on May 4. The proceedings were opened by the Lieutenant Governor, who in the

course of his speech outlined the events which had brought about the present situation in the Western theatre of war, and read to the conference the King's message. "We are asked what we can do," he said, "and we are here to-day to give the answer."

His application of the Delhi programme to the Punjab was 200,000 men, of whom 180,000 should be combatants for the regular army, volunteers if possible, conscription if necessary; a war loan effort which would eclipse the last development to the utmost of their local resources; and by God's grace, victory in the end. His Honour went on to consider these points separately, saying that the contingency of the failure of voluntary system in certain areas was there and it would be cowardice not to face it. We had often been told by those who claimed to understand India's mind better that the one thing wanted to open the flood gates of recruiting was the grant of the King's commission to Indians. He twitted that idea and said that the next few months would show whether that view was correct.

Five resolutions embodying Sir Michael O'Dower's suggestions were then proposed and supported by various speakers and all were carried unanimously.

BIHAR & ORISSA CONFERENCE—May 4.

In response to the invitation issued by the Local Government, representatives from all parts of the province assembled in large numbers in conference at Government House on 4th May under the chairmanship of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor.

His Honor in the course of his speech said: "My colleagues and I, before the programme was finally decided upon, had the advantage of a preliminary conference yesterday evening with the representatives of this province who attended the Delhi Conference, and you will see that we are following the Delhi procedure in arranging beforehand the speakers on each resolution. The first resolution needs no words of mine to commend itself to you. As regards the second resolution, you will have observed that the recommendations of the Delhi Conference are very wide and general in their form, and it has therefore been quite impossible for us in the short time since we received the resolutions to decide upon a constructive policy to give effect to them. The control of the great industries of the province, such as coal, steel, iron and mica, has already been taken over by the Government. There is a Provincial Recruiting Board consisting of a majority of non-official members, while district committees also exist in some places to

assist the Director of Agriculture. In regard to the matters dealt with in the last of the Delhi resolutions a great deal may be done in co-ordinating the activities of these local committees and in encouraging individual effort; but the matter cannot be decided off-hand and details will have to be carefully worked out. The manpower question is of the utmost importance, and I do not think that you will rest content with the figures of this province shown in the statement of recruitment, copies of which are in your hand. It would be useless to attempt anything like a discussion on these matters now, for we have not the materials before us to enable us to come to a decision in regard to them. We have thought it better, therefore, to recommend the appointment of a large provincial committee which will combine the functions of a recruiting and a resources board, and which will be able to appoint its own executive committee, with small working committees, for particular areas or for any of the special purposes dealt with in the Delhi resolutions. It will be under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Maude, and will hold its first sitting this afternoon to consider any suggestions that have been or may be made, and generally to determine its future line of action. I need hardly say that all suggestions will be welcomed and any such suggestions may be sent to the Secretary to the Committee, Mr. Hammond. As regards the last resolution you will have seen it authoritatively stated in the papers to-day that a war loan is about to be issued, though the terms are not yet known. I need hardly say that one of the most effective ways in which you can all help us is by doing everything in your power to make the loan a success."

The Hon. **Maharaja of Gidhaur** moved the first resolution which ran as follows: "That this meeting, having heard His Majesty's gracious message, requests His Honour the Lieutenant Governor to convey to His Excellency the Viceroy an expression of their humble duty and unswerving loyalty, and their determination to place the resources of the province unreservedly at His Majesty's disposal." The Maharaja Bahadur made a stirring and patriotic speech in support of the resolution.

In supporting the resolution the Hon. **Mr. Mazurul Haque** said the lead must come from the Government. They must know what was required from them, what they were wanted to do. If the Government placed implicit faith in them they would not be found wanting (applause). They were loyal to the very core, and their loyalty was unquestionable and unqualified. Whatever differences they had, they did not concern anyone outside India and to-day they were ready to sink those differences and help the Empire. They

were ready to avail themselves of the present opportunity, and they were sure the future of India was assured.

Mr. Hasan Imam next moved a resolution endorsing the resolutions passed at Delhi, and recommending a strong and representative provincial committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. Mr. W. Maude with Mr. E. L. Hammond as Secretary, to give effect to the same. He suggested that the King's commission should be given to those Indians who qualified themselves for it. He appealed to all those present to help in raising at least 950 men per month.

The Maharaja of Dumraon, in seconding the resolution, made various suggestions, and insisted that they should put on the committee only such men as would take an active interest in the work. He concluded by offering his personal services to the Indian Defence Force.

The resolution was then passed.

Sir Ali Imam next moved a resolution pledging all present to do their utmost to ensure the success of the forthcoming war loan.

His Honour, in closing the meeting, said he had received a telegram from the Raja Sudhal Deo, Fudatory Chief of Barma State, announcing that in addition to his other contributions to the war funds he was making a donation of Rs. 20,000.

U. P. CONFERENCE—May 4.

At a meeting of representatives of the United Provinces held at Government House to give effect to the resolutions of the Delhi Conference, **Sir Harcourt Butler** welcomed specially the leaders of the Christian and Indian religions and also their American friends on whom he had always looked as one with Britain in all essentials. He thought that Indians, Americans and Europeans were one in purpose and hope. He said the committee would have to consider how to increase the number of recruits by about 2,500 a month, and how to popularise the forthcoming war loan. Propaganda must be organised on a big scale. He called on all Government pensioners, Honorary Magistrates, and title-holders to take an active part in what was their bounden duty. He appealed also to those who in ordinary times were critical towards the Government, but who were now ready to sink all differences, to join actively. He also appealed to the young generation on whose enthusiasm and loyalty, he said, he placed no limit.

The representatives of the Moslem and Hindu religions then offered their support to the Government.

The Bishop of Lucknow said the missionaries of the Province would do whatever part was assigned to them.

The Rev. Dr. Norman assured the Government of the whole-hearted loyalty of the Roman Catholic community and of the Anglo-Indian community.

A resolution asking the Viceroy to convey to the King-Emperor their humble duty, and to assure him that these Provinces would do their utmost to give full effect to the wishes contained in his recent gracious message to India, was proposed by the Hon. Raja of Mahmudabad and endorsed by the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who said that Indians and Europeans should work together so that the burden should balance evenly.

A representative committee was then appointed with His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor as President, to consider the best means of developing the man-power and resources of the Provinces with a view to securing the greatest assistance possible in the prosecution of the War. The powers of this committee were delegated to two sub-committees which will report their proceedings to the President. The agenda for the man-power sub-committee included the allotment of monthly quotas to obtain a minimum of 10,000 men a month, the utilisation of non-officials, and rewards to returning soldiers for good recruiting work.

BOMBAY WAR CONFERENCE—10 June, 1918.

The Bombay War Conference held at Govt. House on the 10 June was presided by the Governor, His Excellency Lord Willingdon. The Conference did not, unhappily, proceed as smoothly as the other War Conferences, and a great unpleasantness was created by His Excellency's straight talk to the Home Rulers whose stronghold is Bombay. In the course of his speech, after explaining the meaning of the conference, His Excellency said :

Eager and anxious as I am to feel assured of an entirely united force to assist me in this campaign, there are a certain number of gentlemen, some of whom have considerable influence with the public, many of them members of the political organisation called the Home Rule League, whose activities have been such of late years that I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support, until I have come to a clear understanding with them and have frankly expressed to them all that is in my mind. I do not wish in any detail to criticise their action or their methods in the past, beyond saying that they have not given the help to Government that I think I was fairly entitled to expect from them in these critical days; indeed I must frankly say that their object seems to

have been at every available opportunity to increase the difficulties and embarrassment of Government whenever and wherever they could. I can claim that my Government have always felt that in every country where there is any public feeling, any political instinct, there must always be an advanced party, the extreme left of our political life, which is generally opposed to Government, but which must be, like any other party, given full freedom of speech, action and opinion, provided it keeps within constitutional limits.

As I have already said, the object of the Delhi Conference was to secure unity of effort and promise of strenuous, wholehearted service. But within the last few weeks I have studied with some care the speeches and writings of some of these gentlemen since the Delhi Conference was held, and they have been of such a character that I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their desire for that unity of effort, that strenuous service, which is absolutely necessary to secure the success of our labours.

From reading their speeches, the position of those gentlemen seems to be this: "We quite realise the gravity of the situation; we are all anxious to help, but unless Home Rule is promised within a given number of years, and unless various other assurances are given us with regard to other matters, we do not think we can stir the imagination of the people, and we cannot hope for a successful issue to the recruiting campaign." I understand that these gentlemen disclaim any suggestion that they are trying to make a bargain and I of course accept their disclaimer, but if I have fairly stated their position, I must honestly confess that I don't think their help will be of a very active character.

These gentlemen must be perfectly well aware that no promises of the kind they seem to desire can possibly be given without full constitutional sanction, and as to the request that a promise should be definitely given them of Home Rule within a certain number of years, they know very well that the whole question of political reforms is now in the hands of the British Cabinet, and that it is quite impossible for the Viceroy or anyone else to give such a promise as they desire. I do not expect anyone even in these days to give up all political action or discussion for I fully realise that the administration of any Government must be open to criticism even in the most grave and serious times, but I do expect that criticism to be fair, to be reasonable, to be free from the bitterness which I have sometimes noticed in the past. I can accept no uncertain, no half-hearted assistance at this juncture. And with the recollection of these speeches fresh in my mind, I ask these gentlemen to put aside their doubts and difficulties, and as loyal citizens of the British

Empire, sincerely anxious for the success of the Allied cause, to join with us all wholeheartedly and unreservedly, and do nothing by speech, writing or action which will in any way prejudice the success of our campaign."

A Scene.

After the first resolution on loyalty was moved His Excellency called upon **Mr. B. C. Tilak** to speak. Mr. Tilak expressed on behalf of himself and all Home Rulers deep loyalty to the King Emperor, but regretted the rules of procedure did not allow him to move an amendment to the resolution.

His Excellency said that if Mr. Tilak wished to move an amendment to the resolution, he could not allow it as he had stated at the outset.

Mr. Tilak said he was not going to move an amendment. He then proceeded to say that cooperation with the Government necessitated certain things, and attempted to reply to His Excellency's attack on Home Rulers.

The President here called Mr. Tilak to order and said he could not allow any political discussion.

Mr. Tilak was proceeding when His Excellency again ruled him out of order. Mr. Tilak then declared that the only self-respecting course for him was to retire from the meeting and left the hall.

Mr. N. C. Kelker was then called upon. He said he wished to express his loyalty to the King-Emperor and to the British Government in India. He had, he said, a number of practical proposals to make to help the cause of rallying man-power in India, and he would put them forward. But he wished to point out to the Conference that non-officials would not, unfortunately, be able to give effective co-operation to Government in the matter of recruitment unless and until they could go to the people and say to them: "Here is Government in earnest to do what is necessary and what is actually in their power, for raising the political status of this country, and giving a fair chance to the people therein to rise to the full height of their manhood as citizens of the British Empire."

Lord Willingdon here said he could not allow any political discussion and after some further conversation with his Excellency Mr. Kelker also retired and walked out of the Conference accompanied by Messrs. B. G. Horniman, S. R. Bomanji and Jamnadas Dwarkadas.

Lord Willingdon said he regretted that some of the members had thought fit to leave the Hall. He had, however, told them in the beginning not to introduce any political matters in the resolution

on loyalty to Government. The reason for not accepting any amendments was that they had been carrying out the instructions of the Government of India. Government were, however, prepared to hear any advice or criticism.

The Hon. Mr. V.J. Patel wished to know whether amendments were out of order, and the Chairman said they were.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah said that their response to the message of the King-Emperor, namely, their assurance of the determination of the Presidency to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire was passing, had the support of the entire educated community of India. There were also no two opinions at this crisis that India should go forward—nay it was imperative that India should develop her manpower and utilise her resources to the fullest possible extent. But before he would proceed further, he must say this: that he was pained, very much pained, that His Excellency should have thought fit to cast doubts on the sincerity and the loyalty of the Home Rule party. He was very sorry, but with the utmost respect he must enter his emphatic protest against that view. The Home Rule party was as sincere and as anxious as any one else to help the defence of the Motherland and the Empire. He did not wish to take up the time of that august body at that late hour. The difference was only regarding the methods, for Government's methods the Home Rule party did not want. He was only making suggestions for the improvement of the scheme. The Government had their own scheme, namely for the recruitment of sepoys but that was not enough to save them from the German menace which was right at their door on the frontiers. They wanted a national army or in other words a citizen army and not a purely mercenary army.

H. H. the Maharaja of Jamnagar said that we should not be moved by a huckstering spirit. "We should wait for what we want to-day till to-morrow, and if we do what we are required to do we shall surely get our desire." Mr. Manmohondas Ramji says: "We should do all we can now and we shall get the benefit and what we want afterwards." But now, is this not bargaining? Mr. Manmohandas is a strict businessman; our young men are not, and our recruiting field is our young men. They prefer to be made to feel that they are the citizens of the Empire, and that would rouse them to come forward and make sacrifices. I donot agree that we should do all we can on the understanding that we are going to be rewarded for it afterwards, neither do I say that we should bargain and make conditions before we help the Empire, but I say that if you wish to enable us to help you, to facilitate and stimulate the

recruiting, you must make the educated people feel that they are the citizens of the Empire and the King's equal subjects. But the Government do not do so. You say that we shall be trusted and made real partners in the Empire. When? We do not want words. We do not want the consideration of the matter indefinitely put off. We want action and immediate deeds.

I will only give one instance of the dilatoriness. At the Delhi War Conference we passed a resolution recommending that a substantial number of King's Commissions should be granted to the people of India and that the training colleges should be thrown open to them. It is nearly two months now. And what has been done? We have heard nothing yet. He said they would not succeed in preparing the real defence of India "much less help the Empire, unless India is made a partner of the Empire and you trust her—at once."

The Chairman said the speaker had better go to the Government at Delhi or Simla and say those things there, for he had no power over that matter.

Mr. Jinnah : But your Excellency said that the Bombay Government had been directed by the Government of India to carry out the proposals embodied in the memorandum annexed to the resolution now under discussion. If the Government wanted us to co-operate with them and carry out their wishes in this province then let them trust us."

He further said that he could not agree with the methods laid down in the resolution, and he did not approve of that part of the resolution which dealt with the appointment of boards.

The Chairman said Mr. Jinnah could not question the ruling of the chair.

Mr. Jinnah said he would say that he could not support the whole of the resolution, but only a part of it. He did not approve of the personnel of the Board. He did not agree with it because he had not been given an opportunity to exercise his judgment in its selection. He wanted to move an amendment. "But" said Mr. Jinnah "it has been ruled by your Excellency that no amendments will be allowed. This is a procedure which is unheard of, unknown to any constitution, but since the ruling is given, I must bow to it."

The Chairman said the Hon. gentleman might send any suggestion he wanted to be adopted hereafter.

Mr. Jinnah said the procedure had already been laid down by the Chairman, and he did not desire to challenge it. Another point was that he did not approve of the memorandum annexed to the resolution. He had had no opportunity given to him to

exercise his judgment, and he refused to be a party to adopt that memorandum which he had had no opportunity given to consider.

Mr. R. P. Karandikar said: Invitation from Government to a Home Ruler to this Conference illustrates the desire of your Excellence to hear all sides and though no amendments are convenient in the pressing need of the hour, I wish to emphasize a point or two—a prompt reference to which is in my opinion absolutely necessary to make the proceedings of this solemn meeting less inconsistent with the requirements of the occasion. I have no hesitation in affirming that the grant of the reform and ideal of Home Rule urged for by the whole country are at the back of the head of every one in this august assembly, when we join in supporting the measures proposed, and as a Home Ruler I will say, without the grant of which we can scarcely command the loving and enthusiastic reception of those measures.

I am not quite sure what work the existing Committees are doing as I find no adequate popular representation on them. But I have no doubt when fresh committees are formed, due regard shall be paid to all elements that will secure enthusiastic and not merely formal co-operation. My attention is further drawn to para 2 in the concluding portion of the Memorandum. In the interests of fairness and for guarding against want of more necessary information, it is desirable that not only the locality but also the section referred to as working against recruiting must be exposed. I shall be happy to know that the youth of the country are fired by the kind of lofty sentiment claimed, and I should discourage the foul means that chill such patriotism. As a Home Ruler I claim for the Home Rule party that it is for the purpose of creating and sustaining the feeling of patriotism that we want a declaration of an immediate grant of the reforms leading to Home Rule. I know of no case in which a Home Ruler has descended to thwart recruiting in the manner suggested in the paragraph. I know however that the agencies employed in recruiting are not infrequently found to have committed mistakes and excesses so as to lead the ignorant and terrified villagers to look upon all recruiting as unwelcome. No recruiting agent is brought to book but on the contrary the excesses of villagers are met with more severe notice. For the sake of restoring confidence therefore, proclamations such as are sent by the Collector of Satara are absolutely necessary, and but for the fact that no amendment is welcome, I was almost on the point of urging for a Committee of Redress. But I have no doubt that the committees themselves will guard against any excesses by their subordinates.

Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar said, he had risen to speak because it was the desire of the political party to which he belonged, that on an occasion like that there should be absolute harmony, and that they must not part with a jarring note, which ought not to have been introduced at the meeting. He was, on their behalf, to assure his Excellency that he was perfectly right in ruling that a Loyalty Resolution should not have any amendments. If their loyalty was genuine, if they were anxious to serve the cause with which his Majesty was identified in the present war, they should absolutely surrender all the rights that they wanted, they should stand by his Majesty and sacrifice all, not for the sake of their hearths and homes, but for the sake of the eternal verities. As H. H. the Jam shahib had said, for the sake of the higher and the holier cause for which England had gone into the war. The principles for which the Allies were fighting had been summed up by President Wilson in his inimitable language that the present war was the first unselfish war in the history of the world. If it was true, and if all the people subscribed to that view, it was not possible for them to stand out and say that it would be difficult for them, it would not be possible for them, to co-operate with his Majesty and his soldiers unless their selfish demands, however patriotic they might be, were granted to them. They were not fighting for their hearths and homes, for God would protect them. Every German politician from the Chancellor downwards had admitted that England had not gone to war for any cause, but because the German Empire were bent upon trampling the sanctity of justice and liberty. That being the case, could they not say that they pledged themselves to serve the Empire unconditionally in the present war? They felt that if India could offer her services unconditionally for the sake of her principles her name would be written in history, but if India gave her help conditionally then her name would be blotted out from life.

Lord Willingdon said he was thankful to the previous speaker for summing up in such an admirable way what he wanted to say and he thanked him heartily for the generous sentiments which he had given expression to. He was only anxious to secure the entire sympathy and support of all, and he was heartened by the feeling with which the great majority of the people in the Presidency would rally to him. He had asked them to give him all the help in their power. Mr. Jinnah had reproached him, but he had no wish to hurt Mr. Jinnah and he did not think he had doubted the loyalty of Home Rulers.

Mr. Jinnah asked his Excellency to refer to his speech and if he

could show that he (Mr. Jinnah) was wrong in his interpretation, he would withdraw his protest.

Lord Willingdon continuing said he had suggested to the Home Rulers that that was the time to support the Government. The result of it had been, he was afraid, they wished to have terms. He had told them that it was a crisis for the Empire ; and he hoped that every citizen of the Empire in the Bombay Presidency had sufficient sense of his duty to the Empire.

He thanked the meeting for the heartening message that they had given to him and he hoped that he had the support of the majority. He hoped that his Presidency would always remain where she was, always at the top. (Cheers).

POST CONFERENCE WORK.

It is not possible to summarise the work which followed the meeting of the various Conferences because the end of the war came so suddenly that none of the bodies constituted has yet presented their reports. The main activities were directed to the provision of men, munitions and money. The provision of men had already been taken in hand by the Central Recruiting Board, whose activities were redoubled. Strong organisations were established in every Province and Native State, and men came pouring in. The main recruiting centres were the Punjab and the United Provinces, which ran a neck and neck race ; although the actual figures have not been published, it is understood that at the declaration of the armistice over 450,000 of the half million men asked for had been enrolled. Recruiting was stopped on the 19th November, whereafter the pre-war practices were re-established. The provision of munitions had already been undertaken by the Munitions Board whose activities both in the direction of manufacture and collection were rapidly expanded. The resources of India were developed with a rapidity never reached before ; new industries were established, old industries were expanded, and the armies furnished from India were made largely independent of supplies of England. Great activity was manifested in a great war loan, with the result that contrary to the general expectation, the levy was even larger than in 1917. Amongst the special Boards set up were the *Central Publicity Board*, which at once undertook an active propaganda, which was executed through the medium of provincial boards ; the *Central Foodstuffs and Transport Board*, designed to facilitate the equitable distribution of supplies ; this was merged in the office of the *Food Controller*, when the extensive failure of the rains made the distribu-

tion of food supplies a matter of special importance : a *Central Communications Board*, whose work it was to co-ordinate the working of the railways : and a *Central Employment and Labour Board*.

WAR CONTRIBUTIONS.

In September 1918 a further step was taken in the direction of the participation of India in the cost of the war. The non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council accepted by a majority a proposal that India should take a greater share of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in the country. The Finance Member in placing this before the Council pointed out that prior to the war the normal recruitment of combatants for the Indian Army was only about 15,000 men a year. In the year ending May 1917, this had been raised to 121,000 and in the following year, that ending on the 31st May, 1918, to over 300,000 men. The Government however did not think that this figure was sufficient and during the recruiting year which commenced on the 1st of June 1918, fixed the quota of combatant recruits at half a million men (500,000) to be raised on voluntary basis.

These, and other war charges taken over by India, work out to a grand total of £45 million assuming that the war would continue until the 31 March 1920.

It is proposed that this additional expenditure shall be financed in the main from an excess profits tax, but the details will be decided by the Imperial Legislative Council in the ordinary Budget Session, namely, March 1919.

Other Contributions.—The contributions in money or in kind for War Purposes from Indian Rulers and every class of the Indian people are large. Up to March 1918 nearly £1,000,000 had been given to the Imperial Indian Relief Fund, hospital ships, motor cars, ambulances, machine guns, and aeroplanes have been poured in : the Nizam of Hyderabad has maintained two regiments at the front throughout the war and his total gifts exceed in value £700,000 ; before the end of 1916 the Ruling Princes had given gifts in cash or in kind valued at £1,000,000 ; Provincial War Funds and Funds for comforts for the troops have been fully maintained by the charity and benevolence of all classes of Indians.

The total sum of all these gifts and contributions it is impossible to estimate accurately : but they can hardly be of a value less than £5,000,000.

THE SECOND WAR LOAN.

The Second Indian War Loan was opened in order that India might herself raise the whole of the Hundred Million sterling which

she contributed to the British Exchequer as her gift to England the year previous. It was thought prudent that India should make that contribution her internal debt, instead of its being an external debt, so that she herself may benefit from the interest that had to be paid on that huge sum. The Second Indian War Loan was for an unlimited amount, and was divided into 2 parts :—

1. 5½% War Bonds, 1921, 1923, 1925, and 1928; and
2. Post office 5 years cash certificates.

The yield was nearly 51·5 crores, distributed as follows, Bengal being the largest contributor :—

Bengal	...	...	Rs. 19,81,27,800
Bombay	...	...	14,40,17,500
Punjab	...	...	3,76,95,700
United Prov.	...	...	3,76,78,700
Madras	...	...	3,37,06,900
Burma	...	...	1,71,98,600
Behar and Orissa...	...	...	77,13,600
Central Prov.	...	...	56,93,500
Assam	...	...	8,63,800
Minor Administrations	...	...	1,25,85,700
Hyderabad State	...	...	1,00,36,300
Mysore State	...	...	46,31,500
Baroda State	...	...	30,00,000
GRAND TOTAL	...	...	59,29,49,600

THE MILITARY EFFORT.*

1. At the outbreak of the war the strength of the Army in India was—

British Officers	...	...	4,744
British other ranks	...	...	72,209
INDIAN RANKS—			
Serving	...	...	159,134
Reservists	...	...	34,767
NON-COMBATANTS—			
Indian	...	...	45,660

2. During the war the Government of India recruited 757,447 combatants and 404,042 non-combatants or a grand total of 1,161,489 men—all on a voluntary basis.

* From the Times of India Year book.

3. The numbers sent on active service from India since the outbreak of war were—

British Officers ...	...	...	23,040
British other ranks ...	...	...	196,494
Indian Officers ...	...	...	13,617
Indian other ranks ...	...	...	538,724
Indian non-combatants ...	...	...	391,033
Animals ...	...	...	174,836

4. These totals represent the numbers sent to France, East Africa, Mesopotamia, Egypt (including Gallipoli and Palestine) Salonika, Aden and the Persian Gulf.

—				British.	Indian.	Total.
To France	...	...	...	18,934	131,496	
To East Africa	...	...	...	5,403	46,936	
To Mesopotamia	...	...	...	167,551	588,717	
To Egypt	...	...	...	19,166	116,159	
To Gallipoli	...	...	...	60	4,428	
To Salonika	...	...	...	66	4,938	
To Aden	...	...	...	7,386	20,243	
To Persian Gulf	...	...	...	968	29,457	
				219,534	953,374	= 1,172,908
British ranks sent from India to England	...	...	...	...	...	42,430
GRAND TOTAL	...	...	...	...	...	1,215,338

5. Besides these great assistance was rendered in the matter of **material supplies and stores** :—

RAILWAY MATERIAL—

Track ...	...	...	1,874 Miles.
Vehicles ...	...	...	5,999
Locomotives ...	...	...	237
Girders ...	...	...	13,073 L. ft.

RIVERCRAFT—

Steamers and barges ...	...	...	883
Anchor boats and dinghies ...	...	...	500
Timber ...	...	...	10,000,000 C. ft.

6. The total number of casualties among Indian troops were—

DEATHS FROM ALL CAUSES—

Indian Officers	...	...	691
Other ranks	...	...	25,186
Non-combatants	...	...	10,819

WOUNDED—

Indian Officers	...	...	1,463
Other ranks	...	...	57,045
Non-combatants	...	...	781

MISSING—

Indian Officers	...	...	43
Other ranks	...	...	1,302
Non-combatants	...	...	174

PRISONERS—

Indian Officers	...	...	218
Other ranks	...	...	7,147
Non-combatants	...	...	1,725

Military Expenditure.

Statement showing the expenditure incurred by the Government of India on account of the war up to the 31st March 1918 :—

(1) Increase in net military expenditure in the years 1914-15 to 1917-18 as compared with the pre war scale of expenditure (i.e.) in 1913-14	£	16,500,000
(2) Increase in political expenditure, mainly in Persia, from 1914-15 to 1917-18	...	1,300,000
(3) Expenditure on account of the war incurred in the Civil Department in India from 1914-15 to 1917-18.	250,000	
(4) Interest, sinking fund and other charges during 1917-18 in connection with India's contribution of 100 million...	...	6,000,000
(5) Expenditure incurred in England by the Secretary of State for India from 1914-15 to 1917-18, representing mainly the value of stores lost at sea and the cost of marine insurance	...	650,000
Total		24,700,000,

Statement showing the cash contributions made by the general public towards the expenses of the war up to the 31st August 1918 :—

By the rulers and peoples of the various Indian States	£2,466,200
By private individuals and bodies in British India	... 58,300
	<hr/>
Total	... 2,524,500

Despatch of the Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Charles Munro, the Commander-in-Chief in India, issued a lengthy despatch on India's War Effort which was published in the *Gazette of India*, 29 July, 19. The despatch touches many phases of the War, detailing India's contributions thereto, and concludes with the following. Concurrently with the increase of the arms the operations of the Indian Munitions Board continued to expand in all directions, the increasing output of its factories stimulating local manufacture and conserving to the best advantage the small residue of imported stocks which remained available in India after three and a half years of war. During the year the average monthly output of the Army Clothing factories rose to three times the normal yearly output before the war and in one month reached its maximum figure of two million garments. Over a million and a half pairs of boots were supplied against army demands in the 12 months preceding the Armistice. The output of Ordnance Factories also showed a steady increase. With the object of setting free the plant of Government factories to meet the immediate and specialised demands as they arose, the outside manufacture of war stores was encouraged as much as possible by instruction in the methods of manufacture and by the provision of raw material, patterns, and specifications. The inauguration of extensive schemes of irrigation and agricultural development in Mesopotamia made heavy additional demands on India during the year and the extension of the railway system in the same theatre continued to make serious inroads on the available rolling stock and material. During the war 1855 miles of railway track, 229 locomotives, and 5,989 vehicles have been sent out of the country. The programme of rivercraft construction allotted to India was completed before the Armistice was signed, by which date 940 crafts of various descriptions had been purchased, constructed, or re-erected in India for service overseas, mostly in Mesopotamia. In this connection much assistance was rendered by the Indian River Craft Board, a voluntary organisation developed under the direction of the Railway Board, and which consisted of representatives of the principal engineering firms at Calcutta with affiliated committees at Karachi, Bombay and other ports. Improvements to the Port of Basrah have continued uninterruptedly and it has now been con-

verted into a base capable of handling 180,000 tons of stores a month.

In the foregoing narrative I have endeavoured to convey some idea of the part played by India during the war, of the wide variety of obligations which were thrown upon her as the scope of the war developed and of her endeavour to meet those obligations, often in circumstances of extreme difficulty. It may perhaps serve to illustrate her effort more graphically if I append a few figures showing the extent or her contribution in terms of men. On the outbreak of the war the combatant strength of the Indian army including reservists was 1,94,000 Indian ranks. Enlistments during the war for all branches of service amounted in 7,91,000, making a total combatant contribution of 9,85,000. Of this number 5,52,000 were sent overseas. As regards non-combatants the pre-war strength was 45,000. An additional 4,27,000 were enrolled during the war and 3,91,000 were sent overseas. The total contribution of the Indian personnel has thus been 14,57,000 of whom 9,43,000 have served overseas. Casualties amounted to 1,06,594, which include 36,696 deaths from all causes. The number of animals sent overseas was 1,75,000. No department has been more closely connected with the war or has rendered heartier co-operation than the Railway Department. The great increase of military traffic produced by the war synchronised with a serious shortage of shipping and this threw upon Indian railways a volume of traffic normally sea borne which they were never designed to carry. Nevertheless by the exercise of the utmost resource, foresight, and initiative serious dislocation to traffic has been successfully avoided and even in circumstances of extreme difficulty the railway administrations have freely surrendered the personnel and material for service overseas. The resources of the Royal Indian Marine have similarly been taxed to the utmost. Not only has this service been responsible for transportation overseas of nearly 9,50,000 men and 1,75,000 animals but it has also been charged with a variety of other duties. Throughout the war the work of the Royal Indian Marine has been accomplished with commendable efficiency and despatch.

In the previous despatch I have expressed my gratitude in the name of the army in India to thousands of loyal and devoted workers who have contributed in various spheres of activity to the prosecution of the war and now that the war has been brought to a successful conclusion I can not do more than reiterate that expression of my thanks. The various department of the Government of India, heads and members of provincial Governments, Ruling Chiefs, railway administrations, Chambers of Commerce, port trusts and municipali-

ties, mercantile marine, numerous associations for the relief of distress and care of sick and wounded—work in which the ladies of India have played a leading part—the great non-official and commercial communities, and a host of individual workers—one and all have laboured with conspicuous devotion. Last and perhaps most important of all I desire to express the great debt which the Empire owes to the troops themselves, British and Indian, combatants and non-combatants who have contributed so largely often with their lives to the attainment of the common end.

THE CHIEFS' CONFERENCE.

January 20, 1919.

There was a Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi last year when a Committee was formed to draw up a scheme for the development of these annual meetings and their draft proposals were informally placed before the Government of India. This year the Conference commenced on January 20 in the Legislative Council Chamber to discuss matters connected with the States and their Rulers.

The Viceroy's Inaugural Address.

His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the conference said :—

The year which has passed since I last welcomed Your Highnesses in this hall has been a momentous one. I allude not only to the great drama which has been enacted on the battlefields of Europe and of Asia where the fate of India was decided in common with that of the Western Nations but also to events which have taken place in India and in which India has a more exclusive interest. The year has witnessed the greatest war efforts which this country has yet put forth and the share which the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India have taken in the victory of the Allies is one of which Your Highnesses may well be proud. It has also seen a further step in the evolution of the relations between this great country and the Empire with which its destinies are linked. The Report on Indian Constitutional Reform has now been public for some seven months. Our principal business will be to consider that report so far as it affects the Indian States. At the outset it will be well to refer to the course of events leading up to chapter X of that report. In closing the proceeding of the last Conference I assured Your Highnesses with reference to the development of these annual meetings, that any scheme which you might put forward would receive the most careful and sympathetic consideration of the Government of India. That same afternoon I understand that Your Highnesses appointed a committee to draw up such a scheme and this committee in successive meetings held in November, December and January prepared draft proposals which were informally placed before the Government of India. Communications from various quarters indicated that the

scheme thus formulated did not represent the unanimous opinion of all the Princes but considerations of space made it impracticable at the time to invite Your Highnesses to a full conference and we had to be satisfied with an informal discussion with certain of your number. This discussion was held at Delhi on the 4th and 5th of February of last year, and His Majesty's Secretary of State for India was present at it. A digest of the proceedings was circulated in the following month and Your Highnesses will have noted that at the outset of the meeting I explained that it was not intended to arrive at any final and binding decisions. The discussions were however of very great value to the Secretary of State and myself when subsequently we came to draft chapter X of our report, and now I invite Your Highnesses' considered opinion on the recommendations that we have made in that chapter.

Division of Princes.

The first recommendation is that with a view to future improvement of relations between the Crown and the States a definite line should be drawn separating the rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others. The question of such a line has arisen in practical form in connection with the issue of invitations to conferences on previous occasions, but Mr. Montagu and I felt strongly that quite apart from this consideration such a dividing line would be likely to be of advantage both to Your Highnesses and to the Government of India as tending to minimise the risk that in the words of the report "Practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also." I am aware that the form in which our recommendation is framed has aroused anxiety among some of those rulers who though invited year by year to past conferences are not entitled to be regarded as exercising full power of administration if the phrase is to be strictly interpreted. All such have been invited to attend to-day and they are thus in a position to represent their claims in person. But in order to clear the air of possible misunderstandings I should like to take this opportunity of examining our reasons for wording the proposal in the form in which it appears in paragraph 302 of the Report. Your Highnesses' committee in the final draft scheme recommended that the Council or Chamber should be composed of: (A). The Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, i.e., unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws. (B) All other Princes enjoying hereditary salutes of 11 guns and over provided that no State having feudatory relations with any sovereign

State shall be eligible for membership of the Chamber. In a previous draft of the scheme it has been suggested that the Chamber should be composed of the Ruling Princes of India exercising full sovereign powers, *i.e.*, unrestricted civil and criminal jurisdiction over their subjects and the power to make their own laws. After full consideration Mr. Montagu and I were of opinion that the Committee's first thoughts were on right lines. We felt that the whole question of salutes needed most careful investigation in view of the anomalies which appear to exist, and we held therefore that it would be unwise to base upon the salute list, as it stands, any fundamental distinction between the more important States and the remainder. It appeared to us that if such a distinction is made it must be based on constitutional consideration, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The definition as now worded automatically excludes any States or Estates having feudatory relations with a full-powered State, though I would like here to remark that it would not, of course be appropriate to regard mere payments originally of a tributary nature, made by one State to another, as necessarily constituting feudatory relations. I look to Your Highnesses to advise in the first place whether it is desirable that such a distinction should be drawn, and, in the second place, if so, how the phrase "full powers of internal administration" should be interpreted in cases where doubt may arise. I may say at once that in my opinion the question whether a State is full-powered or not should be regarded as unaffected by the fact that the Ruler's powers may be for personal or local reasons temporarily in abeyance or limited, though circumstances might exist in which the imposition of restrictions on a ruler's powers might connote the desirability of his personal withdrawal from membership of the Princes' Conference. The essential question for classification purpose would seem to be whether the ruler has normally the power to legislate for the welfare of his subjects and to conduct the administration without the intervention of British officials. I am aware that the power to pass death sentence is usually regarded as the most important test of the international independence of a ruler, but where this power is actually inherent in the ruler has been held in abeyance by Government, pending the attainment by the State's judiciary of a reliable standard of efficiency, it would not seem necessary that the State should be excluded merely on this account from the full power list. In cases where restrictions still in force were imposed by the treaties or engagements which regulated our early relations with particular States or groups of States, it may well be a matter for consideration by Government whether in some cases these restrictions might now

reasonably be abrogated. A memorandum has been prepared by the Foreign and Political Department showing existing restrictions on the powers of various rulers whose eligibility for membership of the Chamber may be in doubt. Copies of this memorandum will be available for Your Highnesses' confidential information. Before quitting this point I should like to repeat a statement which I made a few months ago at Dhar, namely, that the Government of India are concerned to safeguard the rights, privileges and interests of their relatively small States no less than those of their larger neighbours, and welcome their rulers equally as partners and co-workers.

Revision of Treaties.

The next recommendation is that with the consent of the rulers of States their relations with the Government of India should be examined not necessarily with a view to any change of policy but in order to simplify, standardise, and codify existing practice for the future. In his journal written more than a hundred years ago Lord Hastings referred to "The formidable mischief,"—I quote his own words,—"which has arisen from our not having defined to ourselves or made intelligible to the Native Princes the quality of the relations which we have established with them." In the memorandum prepared in January last by a Committee of Your Highnesses this sentence is quoted with approval. I realise that that memorandum must not be taken as conveying the considered opinion of those who did not share in its proposal. Also some concern has been felt by some among your number lest standardisation should involve a diminution of treaty rights. With a view to remove this concern I desire to explain that the phrase "of course only by consent of parties" which occurs in paragraph 305 of the Report means that it will rest entirely with the discretion of individual States whether to apply for the revision or modification of their existing treaties, engagements or, sanads. It would clearly be absurd to imagine that the British Government would try to force upon a disapproving minority revised treatise in a standard from which might seem desirable to a differently situated majority. On the other hand, although direct agreement naturally constitutes the most important source of obligations existing between the British Government and the States, yet it does not supply the full volume of them, and study of long established custom and practice is essential to a proper comprehension of the true character of the bond. The Government of India are anxious that the matter should be most full ventilated because the suggestion has been made that

custom and practice have in the past tended to encroach in certain respects on treaty rights. Since we last met Your Highnesses have all, I believe, through your Residents and Political Agents been invited to bring to notice instances of such encroachment and I need hardly assure you that your representations will receive the most careful examination.

I shall further welcome any general observations which any of Your Highnesses may desire to make during the Conference either on the subject of infringement of treaty rights or in regard to the possibility of revising treaties or simplifying and standardising custom and practice. There is an obvious risk that any over-rigid standardisation might fail to take due account of the peculiar circumstances of the particular States and of the special obligations which we owe to them by treaty. But the advantages of cautious codifications are also clear and the tendency of all progress is towards greater definition. Of recent years we have endeavoured to review our practice under various heads. Sometimes we have done this in consultations with Your Highnesses assembled here in conference, as in such matters as minority administration and succession, proceeded by other means as in the case of our Policy in respect of telephones, tramways, compensation for land acquired for railways, the procedure for the grant of mining rights and so forth. We believe that in all these matters the result of our review has been to bring our practice more abreast of the requirements of the times and to harmonize it with the Durbar's needs. Your Highnesses will, no doubt, advise me whether in your opinion this policy can well be carried further in consultation with Your Highnesses and, if so, in what direction. It is possible that many of Your Highnesses may consider that if the recommendations made in the remaining items of the agenda are eventually adopted, and especially the recommendation in regard to the placing of important States in direct political relations with the Government of India, the desired unification of practice and development of constitutional doctrine will automatically follow. There are other observations which I have to make on the subject of treaty rights and the obligations of the States but I reserve these for a later occasion when we come to discuss the agenda in detail.

Council of Princes.

Next comes the proposal to establish a permanent Council of Princes. At the last meeting I expressed the view that if an institution is to meet a real want and to give real help towards the progress of India it must revolve gradually on the lines which

experience may show are best suited to its healthy growth. To this view I still adhere. In any measures you may suggest in pursuance of the scheme Your Highnesses will, I am sure, recognise the wisdom of proceeding with the greatest caution and of avoiding unnecessary restrictions or complications. I desire at this point to make it quite plain that the institution of the Council of Princes will not prejudice the relations of any individual Darbar with Government. It has already been said in paragraph 306 of the report that the direct transaction of business between the Government of India or any State would not, of course, be affected by the institution of the council but it is important to emphasise this in the clearest possible terms. The Durbar of every important States in their written memorandum have said in this connection that it would be more desirable to have a properly constituted deliberative assembly with definite powers to deal with matters applicable to all the States generally, as well as questions of common interest between British India and the States, and the assembly could be vested with defined powers unless the rulers who compose it are willing in some measure to entrust to a corporate body rights which they at present enjoy as individuals. Such delegation of powers is apparently deprecated by the Darbar because they say later that the preservation of the right of dealing direct with the Government of India should, in fact, be an absolute "sin qua non" of the working of any such general Advisory Council.

In all matters relating to the constitution of the proposed Council it is necessary to realise firstly that attendance and voting will be voluntary, and secondly that each individual State represented in it will retain the right of separate negotiation with Government and the right to expect that Government will consult the Durbar in writing in regard to important matters affecting their interests. Lastly, there is another essential point which, I feel confident, Your Highnesses will bear in mind. We on our part are glad to develop means whereby Your Highnesses may maintain your rights and preserve your Izzat. You on your part will not forget that the British Government is the paramount power in India and that this fact must colour its relations with your Highnesses in respect of the institution and proceedings of this Council as in other matters. With these words I will leave the development of the theme to your Highnesses and I am sure that there will be much thoughtful and fruitful discussion on this all important subject.

Following on the proposal for a Council is that for a standing committee of this body. Of the working of a Council we already

have some experience gained at annual conference in the past. The appointment of a standing committee would be a new experiment and there is therefore all the more need for treading cautiously. I understand that the suggestion has not met with unanimous approval and that some of the Central India Durbars think that a series of local standing committees would be more useful than a central body. Then there is the recommendation for commission of enquiry. I believe that this may well prove one of the most fruitful of our proposals, not only by reason of the differences that it may settle but by reason of the increased spirit of confidence which we hold it may engender. The findings of a judicial tribunal are not always acceptable to the parties concerned in a particular case but the knowledge that a competent and independent court of enquiry may at any moment be called into existence is in itself a valuable asset and should go far to remove any feeling which may exist that the Government of India are both judge and advocate in their own course. It should also obviate any complaint that the reasons by which Government are actuated in their decisions are either not disclosed or only inadequately stated. I have heard it said that some of the less affluent States are afraid that if disputes between them and wealthier States were referred to a commission of enquiry they would be at a disadvantage, since the expense of preparing their case and engaging competent counsel would be prohibitive. The answer to this is that the Viceroy has entire discretion whether to refer a case to a commission of enquiry or not, and he would undoubtedly never do so if there were likelihood that reference to a commission would involve unfair disadvantage to one of the parties. It would never be allowed that the commission of enquiry should develop into an engine of oppression to be used by the richer against poorer States. Your Highnesses will have observed that it is proposed that the court should be a court of enquiry only. It will be obvious, however, that the finding of a court, constituted as we propose, must carry the greatest weight with the Government of India, and in what we hope will be the rare case of the government being unable to accept its findings we propose a right of appeal to the Secretary of State. Next we have the proposal for a commission of enquiry to advise on any question that may arise, we hope but very rarely, of depriving the ruler of a State of his rights, dignities and powers, or of debarring from succession a member of his family. This too is based on the recommendation of your committee and I trust that in the definite formulation of this principle Your Highnesses will recognise the desire of the Government of India to afford the amplest

security against any risk of hasty or arbitrary treatment in a matter which must always be one of deep concern to your order.

Direct Relations with Government.

The seventh proposal is that as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Central Government. In paragraph 310 of the report we have discriminated between the States which are now in relation with local governments and those which are in relation with the Government of India through agents to the Governor-General. As regards the former we said that the future position cannot be determined immediately since both the wishes of the durbars and also the administrative advantages must be considered. We thought that in some cases the Government of India might assume direct relations with these States while in others they might be left for the time being in relation with the provincial Government. There are, as Your Highnesses know, very real difficulties in the way of inaugurating any uniform rule in the matter. In the case of some States their remoteness from Delhi and Simla is a bar to closer relations with the Central Government. In other cases, the administrative interests of British provinces and States are so closely interwoven that any proposal for a change of method requires most careful scrutiny. We may keep the principal of direct relations before us as the objective at which to aim but we must beware of hasty action and proceed circumspectly. The cases of States in relation with local Governments will accordingly be considered in due course with reference to the wishes of the durbars and the administrative requirements of the situation. I turn next to consideration of the principle which would govern communication with States which are or may be in direct political relations with the Central Government. The ideal to be aimed at is that there should be, wherever possible, only one political officer through whom the State should correspond with the Government of India. In paragraph 310 of the report it is stated where the authority immediately subordinate to the Government of India is an Agent to the Governor-General the choice should lie generally between abolishing the office of local political agents or residents while transferring their functions to the Agent to the Governor-General with an increased staff of assistants, and abolishing the post of Agent to the Governor-General while retaining Residents accredited to states or groups of States. A third alternative is that instead of abolishing either the Agent to the Governor-General or the Resident where both officers exist, the Residents of particular states might be allowed

to communicate direct with the Government of India, sending a copy of such communication to the Agent to the Governor General for his information. Before discussion opens as to the feasibility of these suggestions or others that may be put forward, I wish to make it plain that the Government of India do not contemplate the possibility of stereotyping their means of communication with States by sweeping changes which shall be of universal application. Some States have reached that stage of advancement when it would be both convenient and suitable for them to have direct political relations with the Agent to the Governor General should they desire this. In other cases Darbars both need and would doubtless prefer to retain for the present the advice and assistance of an officer living on the spot or near by who is acquainted with local conditions. Again, while it is eminently appropriate that the greater States should be in relation with the Government of India through their individual residents the system is not capable of indefinite extension since over-centralisation is incompatible with wise and sympathetic conduct of affairs. We wish to clear and straighten the channels of communication where they are choked or devious, but this does not mean scraping the distributary system. Groups of States will for a long time to come need the advice and assistance of a senior political officer equipped with a staff of specialists trained in the different branches of administration, while, on the other hand, the Government of India equally need the intervention of such an officer both as a convenient channel of communication and to relieve them of minor responsibilities with which they are not fitted to deal. Co-ordinating influence and external stimulus are particularly necessary when difficulties arise, such as famine or plague, or matters of common obligation affecting many states, or for the solution of local problems not justifying reference to the Central Government. Recent war emergencies have illustrated this very forcibly. The last is a further development for the scheme for a council. Your Highnesses as well recollect that in dealing with the constitution of British India we have proposed in the joint report a Council of State which, to use the words of the report, shall take its part in ordinary legislative business and shall be the final legislative authority in matters which the Government regards as essential. What we have in view is to provide means of deliberation between the Government of India and Your Highnesses on matters of common interest by joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of States and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body. Such joint deliberation would take place only at the instance of the

Viceroy and it will be obvious that in making use of the provision the Viceroy would attach the greatest weight to any wishes which Your Highnesses might from time to time express in the matter. The arrangement would be permissive only and at the out set I suggest that simplicity and freedom from restrictions will be a supreme merit of a scheme which rightly used may well hold a rich store of benefit for this great country which we all love and in which the Princes and Chiefs have a joint heritage with the peoples of British India.

January 25, 1919.

The Conference met again on the 25th January after a few informal sittings and closed its deliberations for this sessions to be resumed in November next.

Honour to Patiala.

The Maharaja of Gwalior said:—Your Excellency, on account of the mournful event which happened in the Royal family the banquet which was to have come off on the 25th of this month had to be regretfully postponed. As President of the Reception Committee which was formed in connection with the banquet, it is my privilege to request Your Excellency to present on our behalf this sword to our esteemed brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, who so ably represented us last year at the Imperial Conference in London. It is painful for me to recall that a deplorable mishap should have led to an alternation in the plans for the presentation, but I may say that anyhow it will be a great pleasure to His Highness to receive this sword from the hands of Your Excellency.

His Excellency the Viceroy addressing the Maharaja of Patiala said:—Your Highness, it is a great pleasure to me to be able to present this sword to you to-day on behalf of your brother princes. I should like to thank you also personally myself for the dignity and self-restraint with which you exercised the functions of a representative of the States at the Imperial Conference and I congratulate you.

His Excellency then presented the sword to the Maharaja of Patiala.

The Reform Proposals.

The Maharaja of Jaipur said:—Your Excellency and Your Highnesses,—Perhaps it is not necessary to make any introductory remarks in moving the following resolution, which stands in my

name, but on an unique occasion like this, it may not be inopportune to say that whatever help we were able to render in the prosecution of the late war was readily given because we thought that it was our paramount duty to serve our King-Emperor with whole-hearted devotion and without the least idea of claiming privileges and honours in return. It is not our object at the present moment to embarrass the Government which appreciates fully our war efforts, but to co-operate with them in removing certain anomalies which have crept in our relations with the Imperial Government. I may assure them on behalf of my brother princes that we do not approach them in a captious spirit, eager to find fault with them and their officers, but to draw attention to the disabilities we are working under and ask for a solution in a spirit of sympathy and justice. I move the following resolution :—

“ This Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs desires to express its sincerest gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India for the solicitude shown by them in their report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms for promoting the welfare of Ruling Princes and Chiefs and safe-guarding their interests. They are especially grateful for the assurance that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities and privileges secured to them by treaties, sanads and engagements.

This Conference also desires to place on record its deep sense of appreciation of H. E. Lord Chelmsford's noble endeavour in bringing together the Ruling Princes and giving them an opportunity for free and frank discussion and friendly exchange of views with their brother princes and the Government of India in all matters affecting their states. They are specially grateful for the confidence His Excellency reposed in them where questions of imperial interests were concerned, thus bringing the Princes and Chiefs of India in closer touch with the Imperial Government and encouraging them to take an active interest in the problems not only of India, but of the whole Empire.”

The resolution was put and carried.

His Excellency the Viceroy said :—Your Highnesses,—I appreciate very highly the friendly spirit which prompted His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur to move this resolution and the sentiments to which it gives expression. It will be a great encouragement to the Secretary of State and to myself to know that our efforts to associate the great Princes of India more closely with the Government of this great Empire and to improve our mutual relations are so gratefully recognised and I can assure you that those efforts will not be relaxed. I thank Your Highnesses most warmly on behalf of myself and the Secretary of State to whom I shall not fail to communicate the terms of this resolution.

The Maharaja of Gwalior :—Your Excellency,—Now

that this Conference is coming to an end it is fitting that I should offer on behalf of my brother Princes and myself some observations on matters of general interest as well as on the useful experience which the present session has brought us all. On the first day of our meeting Your Excellency's remarkable address brought home to us more clearly than ever the complexity of the Indian States problem as well as the difficulty of finding for it a suitable solution ; but more of this later. It seems more suitable that I should at the outset briefly allude to certain epoch-making events which by their importance appear to me to claim priority of mention.

The armistice which was signed on the 11th November marked for the allies the happy ending of the greatest war known to history involving a heart-breaking expenditure of blood and treasure. Therefore, this is the occasion for deep thankfulness to the Ordainer of human affairs. We now look forward to the conclusion of a just and lasting peace, a peace which we trust will not only secure tranquility to the British Empire for a long time to come, but will also bring about a fair adjustment of the rights of all races and communities. I refer to the glorious end of the war to recall what has rendered its achievements possible. Bearing in mind the part played in the war by the British Empire, I think it is no exaggeration to say that it was the absolute unity of that composite structure which operated most powerfully towards that end, and if I may raise a further question it will be only to supply an equally obvious answer, " what rendered such a perfect cohesion possible ? " It was the personality of His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor which has won him an ample and firm place in the affections of his people. It is not the sentiment which only tradition breeds that I express but a deduction from the world's history when I say that hereditary throne is the greatest binding and welding force in the life of nations and communities. We, the Princes of India, rejoice to find on all sides undeniable evidence of attachment to the British Throne, and it inspires us with the brightest hopes for the good of humanity and the peace of the world to find the British Throne, to which we are bound by very close ties, more secure than ever before, and I may say in consequence of the great struggle which has thrown many a crown into the melting pot.

This security which is broad-based upon the affection and good will of the people is, we firmly believe, going shortly to find its counterpart in the adoption of liberal measures calculated to improve the machinery of the governance of India. These measures which are irrevocably promised will bring in their train enhanced loyalty and contentment in India, and the ampler they can be made,

with due regard for the conditions that are obtaining, and the quicker they can be enforced, the greater will be their certain result. I am not using the language of convention but I speak from conviction when I say that both the amplitude and the expedition are assured by the combination which we all regard to be of happy augury, viz., the continuation of Your Excellency's Viceroyalty and the reappointment to the Secretaryship of State for India of the Right Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu.

The recent elevation of our distinguished countryman Sir Satyendra Sinha to the Peerage and his appointment to an office in the British Government is an example of true insight, great political imagination, and what is even more important, of genuine honesty of purpose and we refuse to credit the libel from wherever it emanates that in this measure of simple justice to the people there is even the slightest taint of party or other questionable tactics. The recognition of India's rights is further emphasised by her direct representation in the Peace Conference and in the inclusion of our illustrious brother, the Maharaja of Bikanir, amongst the delegates to Versailles. We recognise the determination to accord to the Indian States their rightful place in the fabric of the British Empire. For all this our heartfelt thanks are due to Your Excellency's insight into the existing conditions, and Mr. Montagu's powerful support, no less than to the sympathy and sense of justice of the British Cabinet. To all of them we are also grateful for the generous appreciation of our services during the war.

The Conference.

I come now to Your Excellency's opening address. I propose to deal with it in the order of importance of the points that call for notice. Your Excellency called upon us to remember that the British Government is the paramount power in India. As regards this direct reminder we feel no hesitation in saying and saying it as unequivocally as possible, that the paramountcy of the British Government is a fact that is not open to challenge. It is a fact that is readily admitted and a fact that is recognized as a blessing because it is accompanied with justice. It is perhaps within the experience of us all that side issues have a tendency to confound the more important ones. The bearing of this remark will be apparent when I recall to Your Excellency's mind the origin of the present Conference and of the desire for the formation of a collective body of Princes. That desire was not the result of the impending changes in the administrative machinery of India ; it was the outcome of the feeling that so long as each state sought

the solution of its difficulties or the removal of its disabilities by individual representation, such difficulties, though in many instances common, were all to be treated as peculiar to the state which represented them and while this possible misapprehension prevailed, not only was the realization of the fact that difficulties common to the State were likely to be unduly delayed, but the individual representations could not be accepted to carry the weight they deserved. This was one determining factor. The absence of an organ for the collective expression of opinion was also responsible for bringing about a condition of affairs in which the interests of the States in such matters as affected them jointly with British India were exposed to the risk of being ignored. In addition there were certain crying needs which it has now been sought to meet by the application of plain and direct remedies, and these remedies, such for instance as the appointment of commissions of enquiry for the purpose stated, and the placing of States in direct political relations with the Government of India, are, I may say, so essential that their application does not admit of delay.

Treaty Rights.

Allusion was made by Your Excellency to the improvement of the relations between the Crown and the States. With regard to this all that is desired is that the various rights secured to the States by their individual treaties as also their inherent sovereign rights shall be ensured to them and consistently respected, and further that no practice or measure would in future be permitted to come into being which directly or indirectly overlies the expressed or implied intention of the treaties. It will be admitted that no treaties are ever comprehensive documents. Having been drawn up to meet the conditions that existed at the time of their conclusion, and having had for their purpose the attainment of particular objects, they can cover but a very limited field. Their tenor however is unmistakable and their general clauses clearly indicate the enjoyment by the States of a status and position which in the course of time have suffered deterioration in practice. Therefore what the States ask for is that no measure inconsistent with this tenor and those clauses should be adopted by the Imperial Government and imposed upon the States. In any case, to all such measures as are likely to affect in any degree the internal autonomy of the States, their free consent should be previously obtained.

Then again there was reference to the necessity of making a distinction between the more important states and the rest, and Your Excellency remarked that the distinction could only be based upon

constitutional considerations, that is to say, upon the nature of the link between individual States and the Crown. The fundamental consideration determining the distinction could not have been more aptly described and we entirely concur with the principle.

Commissions of Enquiry.

As regards Commissions of Enquiry, in order to allay the apprehensions of some of the less affluent states, Your Excellency thought fit to give a very positive assurance that such commissions would never be allowed to develop into engines of oppression to be used by the richer against the poorer states. The sentiment underlying the assurance is in consonance with the best traditions of the British Government, but if I may venture so to put it, there is also another side to the shield and an opposite and real danger to be avoided. An equal degree of determination should characterise the resolve to see that the accident of wealth is not detrimental to the interests of any state. The fear might not unnaturally be entertained that where there was a clear case for the appointment of a commission the less affluent States—disparity there must be between the means of any two states—might find it very convenient to plead comparative poverty, and by plausibly appealing to the possibility of oppression prevent adjudication by a means unquestionable the fairest. Such pleas often go with a bad case and, per contra, wealth and a good case are quite a conceivable combination in the ordinary law courts. It might sometimes happen that the acumen of the bar may deflect the award in the direction of the longest purse, but before independent commissions, such as those contemplated in the Reforms report, the merits of the case may be safely relied upon to prevail over all other considerations.

Results of Conference.

As regards the results achieved by the present conference in respect of the important subjects that are before us for discussion, I will only make a brief reference here on each point. We have decided by a majority that a definite line should be drawn hereafter between the Sovereign states and others. As regards the question of the examination of treaties and the need of codifying and standardising past usage we have appointed a special committee to thrash this question and make the suggestion at our next meeting. We have unanimously decided in favour of the early establishment of an organisation of Princes which is to be hereafter called by the name of "Narendra Mandal, (in English "Chamber of Princes"). We have carried resolutions for the establishment of commissions

of enquiry and for the election of standing committees as outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report but with slight modifications. We have cordially and unanimously supported the propositions of direct political relations between all the important states and the Imperial Government. A Committee has been appointed to deal with the question of precedence under Section 7. We have also decided that this conference recommends that the consideration of the question of the means to be provided for joint deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes should be postponed until the Chamber of Princes and Chiefs has been established, and until the result of the proposals made for the introduction of the reforms in British India is definitely known.

I am afraid I have taxed Your Highnesses' patience rather long, but the importance of the occasion and the magnitude of the interests involved rendered this unavoidable. While thanking Your Excellency for the patience and sympathy with which you have guided our deliberations, we earnestly hope that our labours will bear rich fruit in the near future.

H. E. The Viceroy.

H. E. the Viceroy.—I thank Your Highness for the reply which you have just made to my opening address at the commencement of this conference. The text of the reply only reached my hands a few minutes before this sitting, and you will not expect me therefore in such circumstances to deal off-hand with the important matters which have been discussed in it. I have already alluded to them in my opening speech, but I can assure Your Highnesses that all that has passed in debate here and the views which have been expressed in Your Highness's reply will receive our most careful consideration. I think we all agree that the debates this year have been of special interest, and I am sure that they have been of value to us all. It is always a great pleasure to me personally to have this opportunity of meeting Your Highnesses here, enabling you to discuss with me and with other members of my Government the problems which you have at hand, and I can assure you that we are all of us delighted to see you and discuss things with you. It now only remains for me to wish Your Highnesses goodbye and a safe return to your States, and express the hope that you may be all here once again in November to consider the important matters which we discussed at these conferences. May I say that to constitute a permanent record of this conference a photograph will be taken immediately after adjournment to-day. I now wish Your Highnesses good-bye and thank you for your attendance here and for the fruitful discussions which have taken place.

***CONTINUED IN THE
SUPPLEMENT***

INDIA IN PARLIAMENT AND ABROAD 1917-19.

**BEING A RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS ON INDIAN
AFFAIRS IN BOTH HOUSES OF THE
BRITISH PARLIAMENT, AND A
COLLECTION OF SPEECHES
AND WRITINGS ON
INDIA IN ENGLAND.
AMERICA. THE
DOMINIONS,
ETC.**

**EDITED BY
H. N. MITRA, M.A., B.L.**

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INDIA IN PARLIAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

The following pages compiled from Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, are intended to present to the Indian public an account of the proceedings in the British Houses of Parliament of matters Indian, and if possible, to show the trend of events which contribute to the shaping of India's political destiny so far as it is directed and led by Parliament. The volume opens with the now famous announcement of 20th Aug.' 17, declaring, in the carefully worded language of politicians, the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to India. The causes which led to that announcement are now matters of past history which it is not the object here to open. But it may be recalled, in passing, that that declaration was made under a strain which has now passed off. Good intentions are often expressed and resolved upon, alike by Nations as by individuals, under the compelling force of some adventitious unthought of emergency but people do not live in strain for ever ; it passes off, and with it many a good resolve ! That announcement was made when the British Empire was in peril, and not a day too soon or too late. India herself was in a state of ferment and things were so drifting as to throw all thought, all sections, all creeds—Hindus and Moslems, Brahmins and Pariahs, townsmen and village-folk, agitators and merchants—all into an united common stream of thought and action and ideal. Discerning people in high and responsible quarters saw that some remedy was required. Accordingly the War cabinet in England forged a remedy and hurled it over the seven seas to India ! Came the Declaration of August 20th to India and with it the Apple of Discord ! The drift of things into a common channel stopped ; streams rolled back. Lines became distinctly discernible : Extremists, Moderates, Home Rulers, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, etc a thousand sects and creeds of thought ran helter-skelter all scrambling for the apple. So far the announcement was well aimed and it well served its purpose !

INTRODUCTION.

Mr. Montagu—the Man.

The central figure in the current phase of India's Parliamentary history is the Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu. His connection with Indian affairs dates officially from 1910 when he was chosen by Lord (then Mr.) Morley to be the Under-secretary of State for India. He has had a thorough grinding in the Morleyan code of Liberalism and whether his present actions reflect some of the haltering and unconvincing principles of that code, history has yet to judge. His earlier speeches in Parliament on Indian affairs, particularly the budget speeches of the four years 1910—13, the period of his Under-secretaryship, however, breathe a spirit of liberalism and exhibit a breadth of heart rare even in those halcyon days of liberalism. For one thing he has ever carried with him an air of warm fellowship with his Indian fellow-subjects, and privately and in the platform, outside office, he has championed the cause of India and sympathised with her woes, as few else have championed and sympathised since the days of John Bright. Office, especially the unenviable office of the Indian Secretary of state with its unavoidable bondage of system and tradition, may and do sometimes appear to have cast a shadow on the real man, but the time is not yet to judge if the man or the machine has outgrown the other. History stores ample proof of cases where the machine breaks the man, system clogs his activity and tradition wrecks society. Mr. Montagu has already shown rare tact and ingenuity in the handling of problems where all that is old and rotten of an old world stand in the path of progress. He has travelled far all over India more than once and his utterances reveal that he has travelled and learned from his travels as only one who has a heart instinct with feeling can learn and understand.

He was for the last time in India in 1917—18 as the special representative of His Majesty's Government in order to discuss with the authorities and representatives of the people here the various questions concerning constitutional changes in the "too wooden, too iron" Government of India. A characteristic of the man, one perhaps flowing from the same rare tact and ingenuity inherent in him which has enabled him more than once to ply through difficult waters, is his knack of keeping himself, his personality and egotism, far away behind the true issues he wants carried. This serves to mark him off from the pattern of junkers of whom India knows unfortunately too well and too many. The power of such a man, be it for God or evil, is far greater than that of a pack of blustering junkers put together, and India requires equal ingenuity and skill to watch the doings and sayings of such a skilful person.

Immediately before he took his seat in the Cabinet as Secretary of State for India, he told his constituencies at Cambridge :—

I take up the work where Mr. Chamberlain left it a few days ago. As a private member of the House of Commons, when I had no sort of notion that I should be asked to fill any vacancy in the India Office, I made a speech on Indian affairs. That speech embodied the opinions I held and still hold. Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that the reform of the Govt. of India was now under discussion between him and his Council and the Viceroy and his Council and advisers in India. I take up that discussion, I hope, without interruption where he left it, and in due course the Govt. will announce their policy.

The speech referred to is his well known speech in the House of Commons, 12 July, 1917, on the Debate on the Mesopotamia Commission's Report, in which occur that famous denunciation of the Govt. of India which is so often quoted :—

"The Govt. of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be of any use for modern purposes. I do not believe that any body could ever support the Govt. of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

"I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and *red tape* beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen."

Below is given an extensive extract from that speech from which it may be gathered with what mind he came to the India office. The Mesopotamian affair of 1917, it may be necessary to point out, was a hopeless muddle. Troops were sent without provision, provision was sent without direction, conflicting orders from authority paralysed action, and the man at the spot, General Nixon, had to retire after the battle of Ctesiphon. A Commission of enquiry was issued and it scathingly attacked the Sec. of State (Mr. Chamberlain), Lord Hardinge (the Viceroy), and others of the Government of India. The virulence with which the press in England attacked Lord Hardinge, whom India will ever remember as one of her very few well-wishers and sympathisers, was after all prompted by party tactics. The immediate effect of the storm raised was the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain and the appointment of Mr. Montagu as the Secretary of State.

On the **Debate on the Report of the Mesopotamian Commission** in the House of Commons, 12 July 1917, Mr. Montagu in the course of his speech said :—

"I will now turn to Lord Hardinge. There can be no doubt in the mind of anybody who is acquainted with recent occurrences in India that Lord Hardinge when he left India left it by the universal opinion of all Indians, people and Princes, as the most popular Viceroy of modern times.

"He is censured by this document (the Report) for what, for the fact that he relied too much upon those who had been chosen to give him military advice. Among the many things we have never decided in this country are the relations between politicians and soldiers. On the same day you may read two newspapers : sometimes, I think, you will read in one newspaper trenchant criticisms against the Government for overruling or disregrading or attempting to hamper the action of their military advisers, and on the other hand you will find peremptory demands that they should so hamper, overrule or criticise their military advisers. The two accusations are not in harmony with one another, and the true relation of the responsibility of politicians and soldiers has never been satisfactorily decided in this country, or as far as I know, by any Government. But the mistake that Lord Hardinge made, if it be a mistake, is the same mistake as my Right Hon. friend made when he relied upon Lord French and Sir Douglas Haig, and the same mistake he is making when he relies now on the advice of Sir Douglas Haig.

"Lord Hardinge's reliance upon Sir Beauchamp Duff is not different from that of my Right Hon. friend opposite. Lord Hardinge in this regard cannot be treated as an isolated figure. I think the real charge against the Indian Government is a charge in which I want to include Lord Hardinge and my Right Hon. friend opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) and his predecessor in office, Lord Crewe.

"It is so easy to be wise after the event. At the beginning of the war I believe there was too great doubt of the loyalty and co-operation of the Indian people. The *Times* newspaper, day after day for sessions and months past, had articles pointing out that sedition was supposed to be rife. It loomed certainly much too large in the discussions of the House. It misled the Germans into thinking India was disloyal, and the deliberate policy of the Government in regard to India during the War seems to me to have been this : Let us make as little contribution as we can from India : Keep the War away from India ; we will take Indian soldiers and put them into France, and lend Indian civilians to the Home Government. India geographically as a country should be content with defending its own frontiers, and in maintaining order—a very great responsibility—inside the continent of India. Apart from that it was to do nothing near itself in the War. The people of India were not even asked to contribute to the War, although they asked Parliament that they should be allowed to contribute. I am told that volunteers were asked for in Bengal for certain purposes, and afterwards were told they were not wanted. I am talking now of the beginning of the War. The policy was that we did not know

whether India should co-operate in this War or not; we did not trust them; we dare not trust them—I am not criticising them from that point of view—let us keep the War far from India. Then events proved that the Indian people were anxious to co-operate, and the share of the Indian people in this War, from beginning to the end, has always been greater than the share of the Indian Government in this War, and always more willing than the share of the Indian Government. When this atmosphere had been created, when Indian troops had been sent to France, and as Lord Hardinge said, when India had been “bled white” suddenly there comes a change of policy, this expedition to Bagdad, a complete reversal of policy, unaccompanied, so far as I can see, with any big enough effort to put the Government and organisation of India, which was then on a peace footing, on a war footing, for an aggressive war, comparable to the change in policy. Therefore, the machinery was overturned; there was no equipment for war, and when expeditions were sent abroad they ought to have been equipped in a way comparable to the equipment of the expeditionary forces in this country and in our Dominions. As a matter of fact, here comes what I regard a true reduction from this source. The machinery of Government in this country, with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions, has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute-written machinery. *The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too ante-diluvian, to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view.* I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements.

The Ghost of an Indian Debate.

“The tone of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If estimates for India, like estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, the Debates on India would be as good as the debates on foreign affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colony? Why should the whole cost of that building itself, in Charles Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer's burden rather than that of this House of Commons and the people

of this country? If I may give one example of the inconvenience of the existing system, I would refer to the Indian Cotton Duties debate which occurred in this House this year. The Cotton Duties had been imposed and there was no possible way of undoing that. That is the attitude in which we always debate Indian affairs. You have got no opportunity of settling the policy. It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very near thing, and where the action of the Council might without remedy have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the House of Parliament by Resolution carried in both Houses calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch, now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though no doubt they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first year of their retirement as members of the Council of India. No wonder that the practice of telegrams backward and forward and of private telegrams, commented upon by the Mesopotamia Report, has come into existence.

Red tape in India Office.

"Does any Member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office, how the Council sits in Committees, how there is interposed between the Civil Servant and the political Chiefs, the Committees of the India Council, and how the draft on some simple question comes up through the Civil servant to the Under-Secretary of State, and may be referred back to the Committee which sends it back to him, and it then goes to the Secretary of State, who then sends it to India Council, which may refer it back to the Committee, and two or three times in its history may

go backwards and forwards? I say that that is a system so cumbersome, so designed to prevent efficiency and change that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist. I speak very bitterly, and I speak with some feelings on this subject, for in the year 1912 a very small modification in this machinery was attempted by Lord Crewe, and a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons. On the motion of Lord Curzon, it was thrown out on Second Reading in another place. Its authorship was attributed to me, and I was supposed to have forged it on my Noble Chief, because I found that the machinery of the India Office was not good for my own purposes. My only desire then, as it is now, was to try and find something which had some semblance of speedy action. Government offices are often accused of circumlocution and red-tape. I have been to the India Office and to other offices. *I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red-tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.* Now I will come to one particular detail of the India Office administration before I pass from this subject. I think the Mesopotamia Report stigmatises the conduct of the Stores Department as in the one respect unbusinesslike. The Stores Department of the India Office is a Department whose sole function—a most important function certainly—is the purchase of millions of pounds worth of equipment for the Indian Army, clothing and such like. It is presided over by a Civil servant; in the year 1912 or 1913 a vacancy occurred in that office, and it was suggested then that the proper man to superintend mere purchasing operations of that kind was a business man, an institution of the policy always associated with the Prime Minister. Great difficulties appeared in the way of the appointment of a business man, and a Civil servant was appointed. But it was agreed then that the next occupant of the office should be a business man. My right Hon. Friend, the Secretary of State, told me yesterday that a Civil servant had again been appointed.

Too Rigid Government.

"I come now to the question of the Government of India from India. I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. The Viceroy ought to have far greater powers devolved to him than is at present the case. When I say that, I do submit that you cannot leave the Viceroy as it is. Are there four much more busy men in this country than His Majesty

the King, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Speaker of the House of Commons? Yet the analogous positions of these four posts are held by one man in India, and he is expected to be responsible and closely to investigate the conduct of a great expedition like this! You cannot find an individual who can undertake the work. Your executive system in India has broken down because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern Government but you cannot reorganise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State, unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity. My Hon. and gallant friend opposite (Com. Wedgwood) in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—*seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India*. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgwood :—I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu : As a goal, I see a different picture; I see the great self-governing Dominions and provinces of India organised and co-ordinated with the great principalities, the existing principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of self-governing provinces and Principalities, federated by one central Government. But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest; some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue; that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from Home because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

The Will of the Indian People.

“But I am positive of this, your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. It has been proved to be *not* efficient.

It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people, to make them into a warring nation as they wanted to be. The history of this war shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that higher opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control of the Executive itself. Then in your next war—if we ever have war—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel, in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire."

Mr Montagu's liberal ideas are best expounded in his own **speech at Cambridge on Liberalism** delivered on the 28 Feb. 1912, the year of the great Imperial Durbar at Delhi when he was the Under Secretary. In the course of his address he said:—

"The keystone of Canadian loyalty is the freedom of the Canadian people. Canada has not moved a step towards separation or Republican institutions, yet Canada is divided only by an imaginary line from the greatest and most progressive Republic in the world, and the tie of free association within the Empire has held in face of the strongest natural and political attractions. From that the Conservatives ought to have learnt a lesson in Empire-building, but they learnt nothing. When more than fifty years had passed, when Canada was becoming increasingly loyal and prosperous, we came to South Africa. Had the Conservatives learnt anything in Empire-building? The Lyttelton Constitution, rejected by the Dutch, fraught with friction and irritation at every step, was their best performance. When fortunately and by the mercy of heaven the end of their reign came and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, by his application to South Africa of the liberal principles of freedom, laid the foundations of the South African Union, of another Canada in Africa, which in my opinion justified the policy of the British Empire in the eyes of the world, yet the then leader of the Conservative party, Mr. Balfour, called our policy the most reckless experiment of modern times.

The Turn of India.

Well, then, when these principles of self-government had been applied in their most extreme form, came the turn of India, when Lord

Morley introduced his Indian Councils Act in 1909. Here was no far-reaching scheme, here was no reckless experiment, merely a cautious attempt to associate the governed with the governor and to give expression to popular opinion in India. And we had the late Lord Percy in the House of Commons saying ! "Therefore, although it is our duty to warn the Government of the dangers which in our opinion attend many of the steps which we are recommending, the responsibility of acting upon or neglecting the warning must rest with the Government themselves." And we had the usual carping criticism of Lord Curzon. Well, nobody can doubt the success of the Indian Councils Act, but still the Conservatives have learnt no better. The latest efforts in Imperial workmanship were the far-reaching reforms announced the other day at Delhi as the central feature of His Majesty's successful visit to his Indian dominions. It would be improper for me to discuss these reforms without prefacing my remarks with a word of my own personal belief that the great outstanding triumph of that Indian tour was the personality of King George himself. The good results of his gracious voyage to India will long outlive the pleasure afforded the Indian people by the opportunity of demonstrating their overwhelming loyalty to the British Throne.

The Durbar Announcements.

"In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law dismissed it with two criticisms : firstly, that it would cost money ; and, secondly, that the reversal of the partition of Bengal, as he called it, was a damaging blow to our *prestige*. I would say in passing that the complaint about expense as the first objection to a great Imperial measure is typical of modern Conservatism. To them ideals, poetry, liberty, imagination are unknown ; they reduce Empire to a profit and loss account ; their ideal is one of a cash nexus, and a million or two is to them far more important than the fact that the transfer of capital provides India with a new city, in a historic place, amid the enthusiastic welcome of the whole of a tradition-loving people. And as for prestige—O India, how much happier would have been your history if that word had been left out of the English vocabulary ! But there you have Conservative Imperialism at its worst : *we are not there, mark you, to repair evil, to amend injustice, to profit by experience—we must abide by our mistakes, continue to outrage popular opinion simply for the sake of being able to say, "I have said what I have said."* I have in other places and at other times expressed my opinion freely on prestige. We do not hold India by invoking this well-mouthed word ; we must hold it by

just institutions, and more and more as time goes on by the consent of the governed. That consent must be based on the respect which we shall teach them for the progressive justice of the Government in responding to their legitimate demands. But Mr. Bonar Law knows nothing of India, as he will be the first to admit, and it is to the House of Lords that we must turn for a more exhaustive criticism of our proposals.

Lord Curzon !!

"In the lengthy speech which he delivered last week in the House of Lords he did lip-service to Parliamentary control, but notwithstanding the fact that Lord Midleton was sitting next him, notwithstanding the fact that it was Mr. Brodrick, as he then was, not Lord Curzon, who was technically responsible for a large part of the Curzonian administration, he never mentioned the ex-Secretary of State in the whole course of his speech, nor did Lord Midleton speak himself. Lord Curzon has chosen as a point of survey for the work of which he is so proud—a point in which he is in his own light, and his shadow is over everything that he has done. It is not "Hands off India" that he preaches : it is "Leave Curzonian India as Lord Curzon left it." To alter anything that Lord Curzon did would be damaging to our prestige !!!

Why the Partition was Reversed.

"Next, Lord Curzon stated that our policy involved a reversal of his policy. I trust Lord Curzon will forgive me for saying that he never had a policy at all. (*Laughter and applause.*) He was a mere administrator, an industrious, fervid, and efficient administrator. He was, in a word, a chauffeur who spent his time polishing up the machinery, screwing every nut and bolt of his car ready to make it go, but he never drove it ; he did not know where to drive it to. (*Applause.*) He merely marked time and waited until a reforming Government gave marching orders. If he were to claim that the partition of Bengal was more than an administrative measure, designed as a part of a policy, then I say that it was even a worse mistake than I thought it, for the making of a Mahomedan State was a departure from accepted British policy which was bound to result in the antithesising and antagonising of Hindu and Mahomedan opinion. I had always hoped that this was the unforeseen result, and not a deliberate achievement, of Lord Curzon's blunder. It has always been the proud boast of English rule in India that we have not interfered between the different races, religions, and creeds which we found in the country.

The New Policy.

"Where the difference lies is in this : that we have endeavoured to look ahead, to co-ordinate our changes in Bengal with the general lines of our future policy in India, which is stated now for the first time in the Government of India's despatch that has been published as a Parliamentary Paper. That statement shows the goal, the aim towards which we propose to work—not immediately, not in a hurry, but gradually. Perhaps you will allow me to quote the sentence in the despatch which contains the pith of the statement : "The only possible solution would appear to be gradually to give the provinces a larger measure of self-government until at last India would consist of a number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all, possessing power to interfere in cases of misgovernment, but ordinarily restricting their functions to matters of Imperial concern." We cannot drift on for ever without stating a policy. A new generation, a new school of thought, fostered by our education and new European learning, has grown up, and it asks : "What are you going to do with us ?" The Extremist politicians, who form the outside fringe of this school, have made up their minds as to what they want. One of their leaders, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, has drawn up and published a full, frank, detailed, logical exposition of the exact form of "swaraj," or, as may be roughly translated, "Colonial self-government," that they want. The Moderates look to us to say what lines our future policy is to take. We have never answered that, and we have put off answering them for too long. At last, and not too soon, a Viceroy has had the courage to state the trend of British policy in India and the lines on which we propose to advance."

House of Commons—20 Aug. 1919.

THE DECLARATION OF POLICY.

Mr. C. Roberts asked the Sec. of State for India whether he is in a position to make any announcement as to the policy which the Government intend to pursue in India?

Mr. Montagu—The Government of India have for some time been urging that a statement should be made in regard to Indian Policy, and I am glad to have the opportunity afforded by my hon. Friend's question of meeting their wish.

The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Govt. of India to consider with the Viceroy the views of the Local Govts., and to receive the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and

advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for the public discussion of the proposals, which will be submitted in due course to Parliament.

The same statement will be made today in India.

Sir. J. D. Rees—When is it decided that the right. hon. Gentleman is to go to India ?

Mr. Montagu—During the winter.

Com. Wedgwood—May I ask whether in view of this admirable statement, there is any chance of an amnesty of people imprisoned in India ?

Mr. Montagu—I cannot add anything to my statement. As my hon. and gallant friend is aware, the responsibility for the maintenance of order in India rests on the Govt. of India

Mr. Hewins—May I ask whether the principles on which the right hon. gentleman proposes to act were correctly outlined by him in the speech he made prior to his appointment ?

Mr. Montagu—That speech was made when I was a private member, and represented my own views. I am now acting as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.

Mr. Hewins—May I ask if those views have been accepted by his Majesty's Government ?

Mr. Montagu—I do not think I can make an announcement of policy when the decision of the Cabinet is that we should proceed to elaborate that policy by conversations between the India office and the Government of India.

Mr. Hewins :—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that statements of policy were put forward by himself on that occasion and also by Lord Islington and we want to know whether those statements represent the views of the Government ?

Mr. Montagu : I have today announced the views of the Government. I do not think I can be cross-examined about a speech I made when I was a private member.

Mrs. Besant's Internment.

House of Commons—16 October, '17.

Political agitation in India—Mrs. Besant's Internment.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secy. of State whether he can make any statement to the House regarding the orders passed in India for the internment and for the release of Mrs. Besant and her associates?

Mr. Montagu—I do not think that I need say much to-day as to the restrictions placed on Mrs. Besant, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia under the defence of India Regulations. But it is important to say this : that the action taken by the Government of Madras in June was essentially precautionary rather than punitive. The Madras Government have repeatedly stated that they had no wish to check constitutional agitation as such, but that they considered that the methods employed by the agitators left them no option but to remove Mrs. Besant and her associates from Madras by recourse to the Defence of India Regulations. But restrictions of this kind must lead to a consideration of the date of their removal, for there was obviously no date set and obviously also they were not intended to last for ever. It would be reasonable to expect that the restrictions would be removed when the Government of India was satisfied that their removal would not lead to the recurrence of practices which they were designed to prevent.

Accordingly when I made the announcement on 20th August last as to the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to India, I asked the Viceroy whether the Government of India would consider in view of the alteration of circumstances, the question of removing the restrictions imposed upon persons who solely on account of their violent or improper methods of political agitation had been dealt with under the defence of India act. Subsequently I asked that in view of the meeting of Parliament and the possible necessity of laying papers if it was decided to maintain the restrictions upon her, a decision as to Mrs. Besant should be taken as soon as possible.

The action taken by the Government of India was taken on their own responsibility, but we were all anxious to secure a tranquil

atmosphere in the future, and this does not mean that I am not in complete accord with their action.

He then quoted the question and answer in the Imperial Legislative Council, India, of the 5th September, '17 referring the matter in question, and continued :—

Afterwards the Government of India received assurances from influential sources as to Mrs. Besant's conduct which they considered satisfactory, and therefore decided to recommend to the Madras Government the removal of the restrictions on Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, as they regarded the retention of these restrictions as not being necessary in view of the altered situation created by the announcement of policy. The Viceroy received a telegram from Mrs. Besant conveying to him an assurance that she was ready to co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere during my visit.

I would remind the House that although Mrs. Besant had been dealt with by the Government of Madras, her sphere of influence and action extended to other provinces, and the removal of these restrictions was thus of more than provincial interest. The course followed in now way implied any criticism of the action originally taken by the Local Government which was in fact approved by the Government of India, and has never been questioned by me.

Mr. Joynson-Hicks enquired of the Leader of the House whether seeing that this important matter should be discussed before Mr. Montagu left for India, he (the Leader) could give a day—even half a day—to debate this question?

Mr. Bonar Law :—I do not think a discussion would be of advantage at the present moment, but it might be discussed on the adjournment.

Com. Wedgwood : May I ask whether the relaxation and amnesty will extend to the Mahomedan Leaders who are excluded on the same terms as Mrs. Besant.

Mr. Montagu : I do not know to what Mahomedan leaders my friend refers. There are certain Mahomedan gentlemen who are interned at the present moment but not for the same reason as Mrs. Besant.—They are interned because of their promoting sympathy with his Majesty's enemies, and they cannot be considered as coming under the same category.

On the Motion for Adjournment.

Mr. Joynson Hicks said :—The points I desire to raise are as to whether Mrs. Besant was rightly interned, and I think that the house will agree that she was; whether there was any reason to alter the decision, and whether the release is likely to make for peace and quietness in India. I want the House to understand that

she has during the last two or three years, during the strain of this war, deliberately made speeches and issued writings exceedingly detrimental to the peace and well-being of India. Every other section in India, particularly the moderates, have agreed to abstain from all political agitation. In 1916 when the war was well under way, Mrs. Besant started "New India." Her writings were so bad that the authorities compelled the paper to furnish a guarantee of Rs 2,000, and last year that money had to be forfeited. Mrs. Besant appealed and questioned the legality of this action. This was heard by 3 Judges, 2 of whom were Indians and they unanimously came to the conclusion that Mrs. Besant had held the Government up to hatred and contempt, and that her articles had a tendency to disseminate disaffection through out India.

In March last the Viceroy referred to Mrs. Besant's action and quoted from her paper. He said (after reading extracts from her paper) "what is this but to exaggerate the ills of India and to ascribe them all to the Government"? The Viceroy also quoted the C. J. "This seems to me most pernicious writing, and writing which must tend to encourage political assassination." The Viceroy then went on : What are these but stirring up hatred and contempt ; do you suggest that language like this can have no ill effect ?

Upon this decision Lord Pentland came to the conclusion that a stop must be put to Mrs. Besant's activities, and he with the assent of the Viceroy and of the Sec. of State (Chamberlain) decided to take further action against her. He sent for her and personally tried to dissuade her from carrying on his propaganda during the War, asking her for an undertaking not to do so. She declined and then with the assent of the Viceroy he had her interned.

I want to ask my Rt. hon. friend (Montagu) if he will give the House the papers so that we may get the whole of the details. It is quite clear that he did write or telegraph something to India very soon after he entered office, partly in view of his going to India and partly to ask the Viceroy whether he would grant an amnesty to these particular prisoners.

My Rt. hon. friend told us this afternoon that Government had received undertakings from influential friends of Mrs. Besant that she would abstain from violent methods of political agitation during the war. But there has been no undertaking from the lady herself. She has, since her release, been going about India stirring up agitation ; she has openly stated that she has entered into no conditions whatever with regard to her release ; she has conducted a triumphant tour throughout India. In consequence of her action she has been elected president of the National Congress. The action taken by the Right hon. gentleman (Montagu) is presumably

in order that he may have a peaceful progress in India when he makes his visit. But I think that that will have a reverse effect. The whole of Anglo India today is in a ferment. They are strongly of opinion that the release will be disastrous to India.

[The speaker then referred to various telegrams from Anglo Indians and also to several statements made by the late Sec. of State, Mr. Chamberlain, as to the violent character of the agitation conducted by Mrs. Besant. He continued :—]

I do not want to go back on the Home Rule speeches of the Rt. hon. gentleman (Montagu). It is very regrettable, I think, that while the voice of his predecessor is still hot in the ears of the public he should suggest that this lady should be released. He is going out to India as a missionary of peace and goodwill. He is responsible for the Government not only of the Indian Extremists but also of the loyal Indians. He is also responsible for the well-being of the Anglo-Indians.

What I am asking my Rt. hon. friend to do is to make a statement here before he goes to India that he will assuage as far as he can the ferment which has undoubtedly arisen in the Anglo-Indian Community by assuring us that he is not going to India to express any such ideas as Home Rule for India, and that he will show that he has no sympathy with Mrs. Besant or with the extremist agitation.

Sir J. D. Rees : I confess I do not know what good, and I do feel that much harm, may result from the speech which my hon. friend has made. What, after all, is it he wants? Does he want the Government of India to cancel the order for the release of this lady and her companions and to shut them up again? Does he want that? If he does not, what is to be the practical outcome of this discussion? I disapprove of Mrs. Besant as heartily as my hon. friend. I think it would have been to the advantage of India if she could be induced to leave India altogether. But there are many other political associations established in India, and you cannot keep them permanently shut up. I never was an advanced reformer, but whenever the question of deportations and internments have been brought forward, the great object of most of those concerned have been to get the prisoners released as soon as possible, for they are more troublesome and more dangerous in confinement than they are outside.

My hon. friend was no doubt right in saying what is the general feeling of Anglo-India on this point, but there is room in this particular case for a difference of opinion. The very paper which is a byword of Anglo-Indian officialism in India, "the Pioneer", says in its issue, 8th Sep. '17.

"It is only fair to acknowledge that Lord Chelmsford is not the stamp of man tamely to submit to acting against his convictions or to be at all likely to seek cheap popularity at the expense of the administration of which he is the head. If he is ready to show leniency to those who have for political reasons been interned, it is because he is honestly anxious to do all in his power to promote that spirit of mutual goodwill and confidence which he realises to be so necessary for the future welfare of India."

There is another point. Part of the gravamen of this complaint is that it is asserted that the Government of India, an independent administration overrode the Government of Madras, as independent administration. That is not the position. The Government of Madras is a subordinate administration. The Government of India was responsible to this House for the internment, and not the Government of Madras. The Govt. of India is responsible for the release. Lord Chelmsford has most expressly, publicly and fully, shouldered that responsibility, and there are some of the strongest opponents of the advanced party in India, like the Pioneer and myself, who think that Lord Chelmsford in this matter had probably good reason for what he did, and should be supported. In a letter to the Times, Lord Sydenham unintentionally misrepresented the situation. He was Governor of Bombay, and, like everyone else, is inclined to magnify his own office.

I presume the position to be this. I take it the Governor Genl. of India in Council considered that some eirenicon was necessary as this new policy was announced. It was announced and decided upon that it should have a fair chance, and if you have got the whole of the Congress Party—let me say they are not my party—in a state of ferment protesting against the internment of this lady, of whom, of course, they have made an absolute idol since she was interned—if that is going on, there is really no fair opportunity for the new departure. I do think that if the House is not to give a chance to the present departure, if it were to accentuate the very great difficulties which the Sec. of state will have going to India to discuss these questions, if we are not to endeavour to produce a "calm atmosphere", what possible chance can they have?

Is it statesman like of us, whatever our individual views may be, to endeavour to put a spoke in the wheel of this all important experiment? If Mrs. Besant and her friends again misconduct themselves, the Governor General in Council can move the Government of Madras, or the Government of Madras with the permission of the Governor General in Council, can again intern them. Until that happens what earthly use can result from my hon. friend raising this matter to-night?

The Sec. of State for India (Mr. Montagu): I have very little to say on this matter; the answer I gave this afternoon contains a complete account of the circumstances. There is very little for me to defend or to justify. I say again, the action of the Government of Madras was approved by the Government of India, approved and defended in this house by my predecessor, and it never fell to my lot to question it—I had no reason to concern myself with it. When my predecessor was in office my Rt. hon. friend, the Member for Cleveland (Mr. H. Samuel) from the Bench opposite asked him if he would lay papers about Mrs. Besant before the House of Commons. My predecessor said he would consider the matter. When I entered office it was necessary for me to consider carrying out the consideration which he had undertaken. The papers were not complete. With a view to laying those papers, I asked for complete papers (from India). But when the announcement of 20th Aug. was made, which in my view made a new situation, I suggested to the Viceroy, not that he should release Mrs. Besant, but that he should consider the release of all people who had been dealt with for unconstitutional agitation in connection with reforms.

Does my hon. friend (Mr. Joynson-Hicks) suggest that it is wrong for a secretary of state, who receives by many telegrams and letters,—even by suggestions in this House that the relaxation of those restrictions might be considered, is it suggested that it is wrong that I should convey that suggestion to the Viceroy? The situation was this. A large amount of agitation had been going on in India because there was a demand for an announcement of policy. An announcement of policy was not forthcoming. My hon. friend knows and the House knows, that the Govt. of India had been pressing for an announcement of policy for some months. An announcement is made—an announcement with which we were all in complete accord. The Government of India think that the consequences of that announcement will be that there will be a cessation of that agitation and that everybody concerned will lay their heads together to work out the policy which results from that announcement, and therefore a new situation occurs. There is no question of reversing the former policy, but a question of seeing whether the new circumstances will allow a relaxation of restrictions. The justification for that wholly depends on whether the people who are freed from restriction do not offend again. The justification depends on whether they have assurances or not which lead them to believe they will not offend. The Government of India told the Legislative Council and authorised me to tell the House that they have received such assurances. My hon. friend says he has evidence of a recrudescence of those practices. I have not. Surely my hon. friend

does not suggest to me that I should tell the Government of India that I question whether the assurances are satisfactory? Evidence shows that Mrs. Besant and her friends who present a portion of the problem, but only a portion, are willing to co-operate in the discussions which arise. Therefore by her release you have assured the cessation of those practices. This was done by the Government of India, and if it is not impertinent for me to say so, I think that they acted in a wise and statesman like manner.

Regarding the Anglo Indian Community Mr. Montagu said :—

The views of the Anglo-Indian community will of course be considered. It would be monstrous if they were not, for after all they have played an enormous part in building up the material prosperity of India. As regards Home-rule and policy, that is what we are going to discuss in India. I am not going to make any further pronouncement upon it at all, and I am sure my Hon. friend will not press me to go beyond the announcement of 20th August. That is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the policy of the Viceroy and his Government. If the Hon. member will read that announcement over again he will see that many of the dangers which he anticipates are safeguarded by the very words of that carefully drawn up pronouncement of policy, and all we ask is that all those people who in different ways and directions are anxious for the well-ordered progress of India towards the end which is declared in that pronouncement will proceed together to a discussion of this matter, eventually in full publicity, in order that we may lay firm foundations of that future and uninterrupted progress, and get out of the way of the agitation which has been aroused in other circumstances by the action of the Government of India. That seems to me to be a step which no one in the House has a right to quarrel with.

Commander Wedgwood said he could not understand what was gained by branding everybody who advocated Home-Rule as disloyal. The people would be far more disloyal to the traditions of Great Britain if they did not advocate Home-Rule. Personally he was glad that the Government has released Mrs. Besant, and he hoped she would continue her Home-rule agitation in India, because, he said : "you cannot grant Home-rule to any people without benefitting not only those people but the British Empire. Our traditions are based on freedoms, and one of the most remarkable examples of the confidence and reliance we may place on our freedom is to be found in the case of South Africa."

House of Lords.

Wednesday, 24th October 1917.

The Situation in India.

Lord Sydenham had the following notice on the Paper—

To draw attention to the present situation in India, with special regard to the internment and release of Mrs. Besant ; and to move for Papers.

The noble Lord said : My Lord, it is always an exceedingly difficult thing to say where a line ought to be drawn in checking freedom of speech or of writing, but I think it will be agreed to by everybody that such freedom must be curtailed if it is used to threaten public order or to sow the seeds of murder and of outrage.

In India it is absolutely necessary that restrictions of this kind should be enforced. The mass of the people are ignorant and perfectly ready to believe any false statements that may be made to them ; they are credulous to a degree that can hardly be conceived here. I should like to give one instance of that, of which your Lordships may not have heard. When we first started plague inoculation in India, a story was widely circulated in the Bombay Presidency that a holy man had said that an Indian with white blood would drive the English into the sea, and that we are pricking the arms of Indians in order to find the Indian with white blood and kill him off in good time. Besides that, the peoples of India are very easily excited, and serious disturbances often occur through the passing round of some obvious fiction which in Western countries would not attract a moment's attention. Every one who has lived in India must know many cases of that kind, and when disorders, thus promoted, occurs, then the most hateful duty of Government comes into play, and you have to put them down by force, with the sad result that in many cases some few perfectly harmless people may lose their lives.

But we have more direct evidence than this of the necessity of these restrictions in India. All political agitation in India, from the first, has been accompanied by assassinations, and in many cases

the assassins have themselves named the newspapers and the speakers from whom they drew the inspiration of murder. Mr. Jackson, a most valued Indian civilian, a student of Indian language and literature, and devoted to the people, was shot at an entertainment given to him by Indians, and the young assassin in his trial made this confession. He said—

"I read of many instances of oppression in the *Kesari*, the *Bachasmat*, the *Kal* and other newspapers. I think that by killing Sahibs any people can get justice. I never got justice myself, nor did any one I know. I now regret killing Mr. Jackson. I killed a good man carelessly."

Could a more tragic confession ever have been made? And was that young decadent Brahmin the real criminal? Other murderers have told exactly the same story in different words, and surely all such cases as that show that we can not allow speech and writing which is proved effective in leading young Indians into crime."

Mrs. Besant, who was formerly a student of theosophy, joined the ranks of the extremists and started a Home Rule movement of her own. She wrote a book which contains more reckless defiance of facts that I have ever seen compressed into the same small space, and in her paper *New India*, she appeared anxious to imitate the most dangerous language in which the Indian Press has indulged. She told excitable young Indians that India was a "perfect paradise" for 5,000 years before our advent, and that it had become a "perfect hell" owing to the "brutal British bureaucracy." Those are her expressions, not mine. She said that India had been "converted into a land of permanent famine and pestilence, and its children into a race of effeminate weaklings". She accused the British Government of "depriving a weaker people of their liberty, and retaining them under rule in perpetual slavery under the plea of civilising them and bettering their lot." There are no freer people in the world than Indians under our rule, and such oppression as exists is that of Indians by Indians, and it would be increased a hundred fold if we handed over the reins to the small body of Brahmins and lawyers whom Mrs. Besant is trying to lead. Surely language of that kind is exactly calculated to arouse an excitable people to rebellion. And would not rebellion be fully justified and even become a public duty if the British Government were really inflicting permanent famine and pestilence on India and holding Indians in perpetual slavery?

To those of us who have been called upon to play a part in governing India, and whose only thought has been to do the best we could for the people of India, such expressions, of course, seem

the wildest possible nonsense, but there are millions of people in India who are perfectly ready to believe them. In olden days, pestilence and famine were attributed to be the work of the Gods. It is an Englishwoman who tells Indians that they are due to a Government which has done the utmost with great success to combat both pestilence and famine.

But Mrs. Besant's libels on our countrymen do not end with false assertions of that kind. In a book which is now about to be republished in India to gain the advantage of her fresh access to notoriety, she states that for every wrong done to a white woman in Africa "tens of thousands of Kaffir women are outraged." I think the noble Earl and the noble Viscount who filled with great distinction the office of High Commissioner in South Africa would warmly repudiate that statement.

Mrs. Besant then goes on to generalise. She says that—

"It is there that lies one of our greatest sins ; the utter disregard of morality where coloured women are concerned ; the shameful disregard of womanhood in every country whereunto Britain has entered and where Britain rules."

That is a specimen of the mental food which Mrs. Besant provides for excitable young Indian students in a country where the treatment of women is one of the great bars to progress. In her purely theosophical days, Mrs. Besant had distinguished herself by violent attacks on missionary bodies in India, and by strong opposition to the teaching of the Christian religion in India. I cannot speak too highly of the British and American missions who are doing to my knowledge a wonderful work in uplifting the depressed classes of India.

Since Mrs. Besant combined theosophy with politics her language and activities and writings have taken a peculiarly dangerous form. Those activities were first brought to my mind by a very distinguished Mahomedan who wrote to me that he could not understand why the Government permitted a propaganda which was having a disastrous effect upon Indian minds. At length the Government of Madras decided to enforce the provisions of the Press Act, and Mrs. Besant was ordered to give security for the good conduct of her paper. As the violence of that paper, *New India*, continued quite unabated, the security was sequestered. That gave her a right of appeal to the High Court of Madras. The case was heard by three judges, of whom two were Indians, and the action of the Madras Government was confirmed. I will quote some fragmentary

passages adduced at the trial which may have had an effect in influencing the decision of the High Court.

"When crimes are committed legally ; when innocence is no protection ; when we live in a state of anarchy. We should be better off in a state of savagery, for then we should carry arms and protect ourselves. We are helpless. We pay taxes to be wronged."

There has been no more tranquil province in India than Madras until Mrs. Besant took up her residence there. Here is another passage—

"News of Prussian aggression and German atrocity are communicated to India to bewilder the Indian imagination. They are committed under pressure, under passion, they are common. But what does this mean, this perpetration of atrocity in civic life in peaceful times, in a peaceful province ?"

The German crimes are excused and compared most favourably to the mild and ineffective action of the Government of Madras. One passage in *New India*, quoted at the trial, was written by a notorious extremist who commented on the recent assassination of a every valuable Indian officer in Calcutta. He said—

"No reasonable Indian has ever publicly encouraged these crimes. There was quiet and even courageous determination in the conduct of the assassins.

They are idealists, though heroism may, according to some people, be too noble a word to apply to them. In consequence people are not even moved by a spirit of retributive justice towards them. We might recognise them as political offenders."

Well might one of the Judges point out that this was "pernicious writing which must tend to encourage assassination by removing public detestation of such a crime."

The decision of the High Court and the sequestration of the security given produced no effect whatever on the editor of the *New India*, and after further considerable delay the Madras Government resorted to the Defence of India Act, which gives powers of internment. Lord Pentland explained his action in a speech which was calculated to allay any kind of public misunderstanding. It was a most excellent speech, and I am informed it had the full approval of all real Indian opinion in Madras. It has been suggested that Mrs. Besant was doomed to languish in prison, and in a very mischievous manifesto addressed by her, "Brothers and sisters in India," she announced that she was about to be "dropped into the modern equivalent of the Middle Age *Oubliette*." There is a very considerable difference between an *oubliette* and a comfortable residence in the delightful climate of Ootacamund, which Mrs. Besant selected for her internment. At Ootacamund she was free to walk about, see

her friends, and help in working up a violent agitation for her release. But she was prevented by the "brutal British bureaucracy" from continuing to fly the Home Rule flag over her residence.

The Viceroy approved the internment of Mrs. Besant; and the late Secretary of State in another place, on June 26, also approved the action of the Government of Madras, and stated his opinion that Mrs. Besant's propaganda was dangerous to the peace of India. An eminent Hindu wrote to me these words—

"Ever since her internment a virulent agitation has been going on for her release. The Home Rulers met in conference and decided to carry on passive resistance unless she was forthwith released."

He added—

"If she is released unconditionally without giving any assurances as to the future, the position of the Government of Madras would be extremely critical. I do not think that they could maintain peace and order after such a blow to their prestige."

On July 30 a Joint Conference of the Congress and the Moslem League sent to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State a long resolution, most discourteous and menacing in tone, demanding the immediate sanction of their political proposals and the immediate release of Mrs. Besant and party.

Lord Sydenham then referred to the importance of maintaining the prestige of British officials in a country like India, and continued—

It was declared that the release was decided upon in order to tranquillise the present situation. My Lords, does concessions made to flagrant breakers of the law ever tranquillise any situation?

The British Community in India is a very small body scattered over vast areas. The services which maintain order and conduct the administration are a mere handful of men amongst 315 millions of people. Their authority and even personal safety depend upon the visible strength of the Government of India. I know very well that the word "*prestige*" is hateful to every true democrat, but in Eastern countries the prestige of the Government is the only possible guarantee of the authority which is required every day for the preservation of public order. What would be the position of the two or three British officers in a far remote country district if they had not behind them the full support of a Government known to be strong? If the masses of India ever come to realise that the Government can be coerced by the threats of a noisy minority, then India will be launched well on the road to anarchy.

Then he said that India is extraordinarily prosperous (1) just now, and that the extremists have chosen this time for a break down of the Government. They have captured the Congress, he said, and the Moslem league, and are working up a large number of excitable youths. Such conditions very closely resemble Ireland where laxity of Government has led straight to Sinnism. He then drew an analogy with Russia, and said that the masses of the uneducated Russians are a prey to the agitators. He concluded by saying that he spoke not in British interest, "but in the true interests of the Indian peoples for whom, as long as I live, I shall cherish affection" !!!

The Under secretary of state (Lord Islington) summarised the debate under two heads : (1) exception to the reversal of the Madras Governments order on Mrs. Besant, and (2) apprehension of the result and effect of the Secretary of State's mission to India.

With regard to (1) he said that the position in India in June when the Madras Government interned Mrs. Besant was different from now. The change came about the time of the Announcement of Policy, 20th August, and the decision that the Secretary of State would visit India. The effect of that announcement, it was believed and desired, would be tranquillising, and it was believed that Mrs. Besant would refrain from her violent agitation. He said further

My Lords, thousands of moderates all over India saw in the restrictions imposed an attempt to suppress free discussion of questions of self Government, although it was only her unconstitutional methods which it was desired to check. Holding these certainly mistaken view, they were very little likely, so long as the restrictions on Mrs. Besant remained, to accept as made in good faith the Government investigations of possible methods of reform. They would no doubt have devoted their energies to obtaining her release, and to maintain a controversy most distracting to those who are about to investigate and quite inimical to the calm atmosphere which is so desirable. Mrs Besant free will mean greater tranquillity than Mrs. Besant interned.

As to the 2nd point, it has been asked why hopes of self Government as the ultimate goal have been excited. In reply Lord Islington assured their Lordships that that course of action has not been entered upon by the Secretary of State on his own responsibility or in any light-hearted fashion. They have not been wilfully provoked by his Majesty's Government. They have agitated for years. Lord Hardinge had to deal with them. Lord Chelmsford in referring to the 20th August announcement to his Council claimed that that policy was practically indistinguishable from that which the Govern-

ment of India had themselves put forward. He (Chelmsford) explained that but for the War the announcement would have been made much earlier and mentioned that he had himself invited the Secretary of State to India ; that Mr. Chamberlain was on the point of accepting when he resigned ; that he renewed the invitation to Mr. Montagu and was very gratified when the Cabinet decided that Mr. Montagu should accept the invitation.

For some time before the decision of the Cabinet the Viceroy had written and telegraphed constantly that agitation was increasing and would increase in the absence of a declaration of policy and that the situation was getting more and more grave in India. Mrs Besant and her Home Rule propaganda were a symptom of that unrest. Her cause attracted adherents and her influence was dangerous because of this silence and uncertainty. The announcement of August 20th cleared the air, and enabled the Government of India and other Indian authorities to know where they stood and gave them freedom to explain the promising position, the tranquilising of India, and to ask for cessation of agitation and for a calm atmosphere.

With regard to Lord Sydenham's request for papers, Lord Islington said that it is undesirable to lay the papers as desired, for there were naturally in those documents much that were of a highly controversial character which could not but give rise, if published, to much further discussion. It was the avoidance of such discussion which was desirable and he hoped the noble Lord would not lend himself to the creation of difficulties.

After Lords Middleton, Crewe, Carmichael, Lansdowne and Curzon had spoken the motion of Lord Sydenham was by leave withdrawn.

House of Commons—Wednesday, October 31, 1917.

Silver Currency Policy in India.

Mr. Gersham Stewart. asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, whether, in view of the fact that for some time the price of silver had been above the equivalent of 1s. 4d. to the rupee, the Indian Government had incurred any loss in supplying the necessary rupees for military operations in Mesopotamia and other places and, if so, could he state the amount of the loss and how it would ultimately be met; whether the Indian Government had drawn on its reserve of rupees coined before the rise in silver, replacing them in India by a currency of notes of a low valuation; could he state the amount of the new issue of small notes; whether this form of currency was as acceptable to the native population as the metallic currency to which they had been so long accustomed; and whether the Indian Government was prepared to consider the advisability of joining in any movement to stabilise the price of silver and mitigate the constant oscillations and gambling in this currency medium.

Mr. Herbert Fisher: The purchases of silver above parity have been very recent. There is no reason to believe that rupees coined from such silver had gone to Mesopotamia. This being so, the second and third parts of the question do not arise. As the proposed notes for 2½ and 1 rupees have not yet been issued, the answer to the fourth part is in the negative; and the fifth and sixth parts cannot yet be answered. With regard to the last part, the Secretary of State for India would, of course, consider anything put before him from a responsible quarter.

Mr. Stenart: Will the right Hon. gentleman endeavour to persuade the Government of India to modify the hostile attitude towards silver which they have adopted of late years?

Mr. Fisher: I was not aware that there was any hostile attitude.

H. of Coms.—Monday, November 5, 1917.

The Madras High Court.

Mr. Snowden asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, if the Imperial Government had deviated from the policy laid down in the Charter Act that the appointment of judges to the Madras High Court should rest with His Majesty; if these powers had been delegated to the Governor General in Council; and, if not,

why two of the four temporary judges acting since 1914 had been placed on the permanent strength of the High Court of Madras.

Mr. Herbert Fisher: The Government of India Act, 1915, empowers the Governor-General in Council to appoint temporary additional judges for a period not exceeding two years. Four additional judges had been so appointed and were serving in Madras when the Secretary of State in Council decided to increase the permanent strength of the Court by two judges. The two persons whom His Majesty has been pleased to appoint permanently to the Court, under the provisions of the Indian High Courts Act of 1861, were at the time of their appointment serving as temporary assistant judges. There has been no deviation from the policy laid down by Parliament.

RAID ON HOME RULE LEAGUE OFFICE.

Lajpat Rai's Book "Young India."

Commander Wedgwood asked whether the office of the Home Rule for India League in Robert Street, W C., has been raided; whether the aims or methods of this League are considered or suspected of being seditious or illegal; and whether legal proceedings are contemplated?

Sir G. Cave: The Office of this league was searched by the police on the 3rd November for copies of a book containing statements which encouraged sedition and assassination. The papers seized are under examination, and I am not at present prepared to express any opinion upon the aims or methods of the league, or whether criminal proceedings are likely to be taken.

Com. Wedgwood: Was not the book seized the book to which I wrote a preface?

Sir G. Cave: Yes: I think that the Hon. and gallant Gentleman did make himself responsible for it.

Com. Wedgwood: Am I to be prosecuted as well as anybody else? It is a travesty to say that any such suggestion was made in that volume. Was this search undertaken after consultation with the India Office or not, or is it held to be in support of decent relations between Anglo-Indians and Indians in India?

Sir G. Cave: It was taken after consultation.

Mr. King: As it has taken over a fortnight to decide whether the Hon. and gallant Member's references are seditious, will the right Hon. Gentleman say when he will come to a decision?

Sir G. Cave: I do not say that the writings of the hon. and

gallant Gentleman himself are seditious, but the book in itself encourages sedition.

Commander Wedgwood : It certainly does not

Mr. Lynch. Why do the public spirit and virtue of the right hon. Gentleman evaporate at a certain grade of society ?

H. of Coms.—November 22nd, 1917.

Com Wedgwood asked the Prime Minister whether he is aware that charges have been made by the Home Secretary against an hon. Member of this House of supporting a publication which advocates assassination as a political weapon in India ; whether he is aware that the charge is unsupported by any evidence but is made to discredit the Indian Home Rule movement in the interest of the Anglo-Indian irreconcilables, contrary to the wishes of the India Office, by a Home Secretary insufficiently acquainted with the gravity of Indian politics ; and whether he will allot time to have this charge against the honour of a Member of this House discussed ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I cannot agree with the suggestions contained in this question, nor do I think it necessary to give a special opportunity for the discussion of the subject.

Com. Wedgwood : Am I to understand that a charge of such gravity can be made against a Member of this House by the Home Secretary without any further proceedings being taken and without any opportunity being given of showing that it was without a shadow of foundation ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I have read the question and the answer, and I have not drawn that inference from it. After the answer which I have given, perhaps the hon. Member would address his question to the Home Secretary ?

Com. Wedgwood : I beg to give notice that I will raise the matter on the adjournment to-morrow.

Com Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary (1) if he will state on what date the Home Office or police intimated to the India Office their desire to have the office of the India Home Rule League raided : whether the India Office concurred verbally or in writing ; in view of his accusation against a member of this House, will he lay Papers showing the responsibility of both the India Office and the police for the raid and for the assassin charge ; (2) whether he will indicate the passages in the book "Young India" by Lajpat Rai, with an introduction by the hon. Member for Newcastle, which he holds to advocate assassination ; whether he read these passages before making the charge or whether he was merely stating the opinion of Sir Archibald Bodkin ; (3) whether the idea of the raid

on the Indian Home Rule League originated with the Home office, the police, or the India Office ; (4) whether the India Office recommended the Home Office, or the police to raid the offices of the Home Rule for India League ; whether he was cognisant and approved of the raid before it took place.

Sir G. Cave : On the 31st October, the India Office notified my Department that the British branch of the Home Rule for India League were publishing a reprint of a book called "Young India," by one Lajpat Rai. The India office pointed out that this book had been prohibited in India, and that its importation in this country had also been prohibited, and expressed the view that its circulation was undesirable. I personally examined the book, and came to the conclusion that it contravened the Regulations under the Defence of the Realm Act and contained passages sympathising with extreme revolutionary methods (including the use of the bomb and the revolver) and condoning crimes of assassination which had been committed in India. I will give the hon. and gallant Member a note of some of the passages upon which my opinion was formed. The decision to have the premises searched, and the book seized was thereupon taken with the concurrence of the India Office. I may add that there is (as I am informed) cause to suspect that the author is subsidised by German agents in the United States of America, and it is certain that he uses language regarding British rule in India which is indistinguishable from that found in enemy propaganda.

The hon. and gallant Member will perhaps allow me to add that I have never suggested or for a moment believed that he would give his countenance to a publication which he knew to be of the character which I have described, and I am confident that, when he expressed his approval of the book in question, he had not realised the nature and tendency of some of the passages contained in the book.

Com. Wedgwood : May I ask whether the Right Hon. Gentleman read the book or whether it was read by Sir Archibald Bodkin ?

Sir G. Cave : I read the book from cover to cover.

Com. Wedgwood : Is the right hon. gentleman aware that 1,000 copies of the book were printed, and that they were sent to the Members of this House and to members of the House of Lords ?

Sir G. Cave : I am aware that the edition published in this country was a small one—1,000 was given to me as the number—

but you could not pass over even this small edition without it being said you could not suppress the rest.

Com. Wedgwood: Is it worth while in order to show the powers of the Home Office under the defence of the Realm Act to antagonise all those people in India who are pressing for Home Rule, and at a time when the Secretary of State for India is about there for this country?

Sir. H. Craik: Is it not the fact that Lajpat Rai was himself about ten years ago dealt with for seditious conduct in this country?

Sir G. Cave: Yes.

Com. Wedgwood: Is he not at the present moment free in India?

Sir G. Cave: I believe not.

Mr. Chancellor: Are any steps to be taken against the publisher, so that he may bring the matter before a Court—is he to be prosecuted?

Sir G. Cave: That is not in my province?

Mr. Outhwaite: Were those steps taken in order to make the world free for democracy?

Mr. Fisher: Free from assassination!

Com. Wedgwood: If you read the book, you would not talk rot like that.

H. of Coms.—November 26th, 1917.

"Young India".

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether he is aware that "Young India" by Lajpat Rai, was published more than two months ago; and why the notification of the alleged dangerous character of this book to the Home Office was postponed till after the Secretary of State's departure for India?

Mr. Fisher: The India Office was not aware of the publication of the book in this country until some days after the Secretary of State's departure for India.

Com. Wedgwood asked in what country Lajpat Rai is at present; and whether he is at large?

Mr. Fisher: Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far as is known he is at large.

Commander Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether he has any documentary evidence that Lajpat Rai is subsidised by

German agents in America ; if this evidence comes from the American Government ; and if it can be shown to the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme ?

Sir G. Cave : It would obviously be against the public interest to answer the first two parts of this question. The third part therefore does not arise.

H. of Coms.—November 28th 1917.

DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS. YOUNG INDIA.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Secretary of State in India or the Viceroy has been communicated with respecting the raid on the Indian Home Rule League's premises ?

Mr. Fisher : Not before the event. The Secretary of State was on the high seas when the India Office notified to the Home Office the fact that the book, the importation of which into this country and India was prohibited, has been published in England.

Com. Wedgwood : He was not on the high seas, as I understand, when the raid was sanctioned.

Com. Wedgwood : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the book was sent to Mr. Montagu personally, and to all Members of the House when it was first published, and can he explain how it was that the India Office was not acquainted with the fact ?

Mr. Fisher : I do not know whether Mr. Montagu reads every book he receives.

Mr. Pringle : Will the Government now withdraw the ban upon this book, in view of the fact that the hon. and gallant Member who wrote the preface is now an official of the Government ?

Com. Wedgwood : I will raise this question at eleven o'clock to-night.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India if he will state in what country Lajpat Rai is at present ; and whether he is at large ?

Mr. Fisher : Lajpat Rai is in the United States of America. So far is it known he is at large.

Com. Wedgwood : Has the Government of the United States been communicated with with a view to the internment of this

extremely dangerous person who, according to Sir Archibald Bodkin, advocates sedition and assassination ?

Mr. Fisher : Not so far as I am aware of.

Mr. Adderson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the German Government, whilst extensively circulating amongst their troops and their people complacent official literature dealing with the War and War aims suppress or subject to severe censorship all leaflets and pamphlets of an independent character bearing on the same question ; and whether he can take steps, with the help of the War Aims Committee, to place before the British people this example of the effects upon liberty of opinion of Prussian militarism ?

The under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord R. Cecil) ; I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the facts stated in the first part of the question. The second part is not a matter which concerns the Foreign Office.

General Croft. Is the Noble Lord aware of the fact that pacifist utterances in this country are very freely circulated in Germany in order to encourage the troops ?

Lord Cecil : Yes, Sir ; that is so.

DEFENCE OF THE REALM REGULATIONS. YOUNG INDIA.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary if he can state how many copies of "Young India," by Lajpat Rai, were seized in the recent raids ; and whether other owners of the work may expect the attention of the police ?

Sir G. Cave : Six bound copies of this book and a number of unbound sheets were seized. Any copy of this book is liable to be seized under Regulation 51, but it is not proposed to take action with regard to copies that may be in the possession of innocent holders.

Com. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether his advisers have yet come to any decision as to the prosecution of the publishers of "Young India" ; and has the India Office been consulted in the matter ?

Sir G. Cave : No criminal proceedings are at present contemplated. The India office has been consulted in the matter.

The remaining Orders were read and postponed.

COMMANDER WEDGWOOD'S SPEECH IN THE

H. of Coms.—December 5, 1917.

I explained before that there is no objection, from my own point of view, to this book circulating in any country in the world, but seeing that it was limited to an edition of 1,000 copies, circulated only to Members of this House, and to Members of the House of Lords, I think the seizure by the Home Office was an act of pure obscurantism and of the most lamentable unwisdom—Prussianism. Here is a book which puts before the responsible public of this country the Indian point of view so far as the British Government of India is concerned. Surely we realise that before any assembly is capable of judging such matters as the government of India it ought to have both sides put before it. We are capable of judging whether or not the book trenches on dangerous ground. It is bad enough for the Home Office to try to decide what the people shall read, but when it comes to trying to decide what Members of this House shall read it is going beyond the limits set by any previous Government in this country. Listen for one moment to what the "New Statesman" says of this particular volume. They say,

This is emphatically a book to be read by the Secretary of State for India himself as well as by members of the Council and the clerk's in the India Office. It ought to be pondered over by every Indian civilian."

That is exactly the conclusion I came to after having read the book carefully; that it ought to be in the hands of every man who goes out to help govern India. They should see the other side, in order to be capable of assisting the administration. By shutting your eyes to the native point of view, by accepting the doctrine of Rudyard Kipling, you enormously handicap the administration of the country. I have been told that by writing a preface to this book I have been responsible for encouraging sedition and assassination.

Sir G. Cave. No!

Com. Wedgwood : I am quoting.

Sir G. Cave : Not quoting but misrepresenting.

**Com. Wedgwood* : I have been told that I was responsible for a book which recommended assassination and sedition. The Home Secretary has been good enough to send me a list of passages which he regards as recommending assassination. Unfortunately, his Office has been careful to send me, not passages but a series of pages—sometimes ten at a stretch—which he regards in that light. It is impossible for me looking through these pages, to define exactly what he means by encouraging sedition and ass-

assassination. I want the House to understand the nature of this book. It is a passionate plea for self-government in India. Is there any Member of this House who is capable of writing a passionate plea for the independence or autonomy of any country in Europe who would not make out as strong as possible a case against the existing administration: You cannot agitate without painting in the blackest permissible colours the existing administration, and Lajpat Rai who is incapable of advocating assassination, has undoubtedly painted in such colours the whole administration of India by the British.

One passage to which the Home Secretary calls my attention described the method by which the British Administration was spread throughout India in the eighteenth century but that passage was simply milk and water compared with passages which might be quoted from Edmund Burke dealing with exactly the same period: The next passage to which the right hon. Gentleman calls my attention is the description by a modern Indian of the six Repressive Acts passed in 1909. I myself in this House, and with the sympathy of this House, denounced them and I can honestly say that the description by Lajpat Rai of these six Acts by no means exceeds the justifiable criticism which any Liberal might pass on those Acts. Listen to what he says in the passage described by the Home Office as being tendentious in the worst degree:

"The penal code has been amended to make the definition of sedition more comprehensive. The criminal procedure code has been amended to facilitate conviction and to accelerate trials. The Seditious Meetings Act has been enacted to make open propaganda impossible. The Press Law has been passed to muzzle the press-Spies and detectives have been employed out of number."

Hon. Members who have read the memoirs of Lord Morley could quote from those memoirs statements about suppression of the freedom of the Press, equally violent and equally tendentious. Surely it is monstrous to say that a passage such as that, a mere statement of fact from the liberal point of view, about suppression of the freedom of association and freedom of the Press, should be condemned in this House, without any opportunity for defence in a Court of law, by the Home Secretary.

The gravamen of the charge against this book is that in the last half it proceeds to describe sketchily, photographically almost the various grades of Indian reformers and Nationalists. It takes those who believe in revolution—who do not advocate assassination but revolution; then it refers to such men as Arabinda Ghose and Savarker, men in whom politics are blended with a kind of religious

fanaticism: then it deals with the terrorists, who believe in the bomb and the daggers; then with the Constructional Nationalists of whom Lajpat Rai is one; then with the Congress Party, the reformists of the Gokhale kind. It deals with them and puts before the people of this country the different classes of Indian reformers, with the ideals they have and the methods they employ. If you are once to pronounce that it is not permissible to state in print in this country the facts about the various parties in India, or in any other part of the globe, you are obstructing the best opportunities we can possibly have of governing India not only in the interest of Indians, but of the British Empire itself. I wish to illustrate in one word what Mr. Gokhale himself said about Mr. Lajpat Rai, because, to my mind Lajpat Rai is an enormous asset to this Empire and ought rather to be encouraged than to be reprobated as an encourager of assassination. This is what Mr. Gokhale said in a speech delivered in the Council of the Governor General after his Lajpat Rai's deportation.

"Lajpat Rai was a religious, social and educational reformer who was loved and respected by large classes of his countrymen all over the country."

It is the misfortune of all great reformers and all agitators—such as I myself am—to be reprobated and denounced by those in authority; but at least we might ask authority to use language which is in some measure governed by the responsibility of their position, and at the same time by the moral character of those who advocate more extreme doctrine than the Government of the day is willing to recognise.

Home Office Denounced.

I do not mind in the least about accusations against myself in this matter. The House knows me better, and is quite capable of assessing at its true value any charge against myself. What I am here to denounce and deplore is the attitude, of the Home Office, and I suppose the attitude, one might say, of the India Office, as it is bereft of the Secretary of State for India—the attitude of these two Government Departments, on which so much depends, towards a legitimate movement for self-government in India.

I think it is unnecessary for me to say anything about the constitutional question in India. Everyone here knows that India itself is in an extremely touchy state at the present moment. You have a raid like this carried out by the Home Office with the consent of the India Office, but in the absence of the chief of the India

Office. You have this carried out regardless of the effect that it will have on public opinion in India. I say that it is a lamentable thing to be done irresponsibly by the Government of the day, which does not really recognise its responsibility towards India at present. Anyone who has any connection with India knows that it is of the greatest importance at the present time that the mission of the Secretary of State for India should meet with the warmest and most accommodating reception not only from the Indian people, but from the Anglo-Indians of India as well. We have here this irresponsible Government throwing into the midst of this amicable association in India this stupid bombshell of the arrest and seizure of a book which was only circulated to members of the Legislature of this country. Beyond the Indian question altogether surely we have here an illustration of the employment of the Defence of the Realm Act which is utterly unjustifiable at the present time. The Defence of the Realm Act is meant not to have any influence whatever upon the future government of our great Indian Empire. It is meant to have influence on the conduct of the War itself. How does the seizure of a book dealing with the future Government of India affect the conduct of a war in this country? This book does not get to India. There is no fear of that. No Sir. This is a case where the authority, having got a brief control of the police of this country, so far as it affects opinion in this country has used that authority madly in order to put down anything of which the holders of that authority for the moment disapprove.

Anti-Jacobin Legislation.

It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary that we should have had this book seized under the Defence of the Realm Act. It is impossible to conceive that if we had a Liberal Home Secretary we should have had the Defence of the Realm Act extended so as to deal with a purely Indian question which has no effect whatever upon Germany or the War at all except in so far as it is an example of Prussianism in our midst in this country. The book in question may be an example of all that the Home Secretary said. It may be that the book is a pernicious book but every one here who has had any education in British history and in British traditions knows that to strangle a book because some people in authority think it is bad is neither good politics nor good ethics. The advertisement which this book has got from this prosecution is far greater than it would get from any number of reviews at the illimitable expenditure of somebody's money. I believe this book was published at the expense of Lady Delaware. She was

not prosecuted, no-body will be prosecuted. But it is not merely that this prosecution involves an advertisement for a book which the Home Office believed to be seditious but that this prosecution is a return to the days of the anti-Jacobin legislation of this country. It is a return to the days of Lord Eldon and Lord Erskine.

GERMAN MENACE AND THE ROUTE TO INDIA.

The following are extracts from two very remarkable speeches of Mr. Mc Callum Scott in the House of Commons delivered in March, 1918, when the Russian Revolution and the Vote of Credit were discussed. They throw considerable light on the reasons which led to the Imperial War Conference at Delhi held on the 27th April, 1918, in which the Viceroy read messages from the King Emperor and the Prime Minister to India calling forth help against the grave situation of the Empire and the imminent menace to India.

We were suffering severely from the evils of our centralisation, and the movement for decentralisation was coming here and coming strongly, though gradually. In Russia it has come like a flood, a deluge; it has shown us what disasters may occur when reforms are delayed. It is part of the genius of the people of this country that they know how to take occasion by the hand, and make the bonds of freedom wider still. It would be well to recognise that the great movement which has started in Russia is something cognate to the highest objects we have in the War and also to the essential reforms which are due in this country, reforms that would bring under the direct control of the people those matters which affect their daily and domestic life. I have been led to develop this aspect of the subject rather more fully than I had intended. My first reason for objection to Japanese intervention is that it will lead us into dangers with which we are not confronted at present. My second reason is that it will not meet the danger actually threatened in the East. The Hon. member referred to Vladivostock. I wish Vladivostock were the only danger with which we are threatened in the East. As to the stores and munitions accumulated there, that is a small matter relatively to the grave dangers that face us. Even if we lost the munitions, even if they were put on the railways and transported straight to Germany we would know exactly what we had to face. But that is insignificant in comparison with the great danger with which our whole campaign and our whole strategy are threatened in the East. The question

of these stores and supplies could easily be solved by landing a few battalions and providing shipping for their transport ; they could easily be brought away. But that has nothing to do with Japanese intervention on a large scale in Siberia. The real danger threatens not Siberia at all ; it lies in the fact that the Germans are on the North West Frontiers of India and the frontiers of Afghanistan and Persia. The real danger lies in the fact that the Germans have got two railway lines in direct contact with these frontiers—the Trans-Caucasus Railway and the Trans-Caspian Railway. We know that in the past our statesmen and our soldiers have had many anxious moments on account of German intrigue and German menace on the North West Frontier of India. That menace has now matured in an urgent form. But a Japanese occupation of Siberia would not help us in the slightest in regard to it ; even though they advanced as far as the Urals it would not affect either of these two railways.

I do not want to pose as a strategist. I believe there are two schools with regard to the nature of this War : the Western school and the Eastern School. Personally, I have always belonged to the Eastern school ; I have regarded the War as an Eastern War, not merely because there we can make the most effective attack on German ambitions and cut Germany off from her objects but because in the East is our Achilles heel. The Eastern Front is the British Front not the western. I do not believe that this War can be ended on the Western Front I do not believe any blow can be struck by either party which will determine it. Germany holds that front strongly in well-fortified and very short lines compared with the lines she has hitherto held, and at the present time she is able to take over new territories unchecked by anything we can do on the Western Front. Unless we are prepared to deliver a blow that will force her hand, unless we are prepared to do that and force her from sheer necessity to withdraw large numbers of troops from the Western Front and send them Eastwards to save her Empire, we shall not determine the War. An Hon. member asked me where that blow should be struck, and, although I do not pose as a strategist, I have no objection in telling him where, if I were Commander-in-Chief, or Prime Minister or if I had the power, I would act. I would send the troops to Mesopotamia and the North-West Frontier of India. I believe it is on those fronts that the Empire can be saved. It is no use saying it is difficult, and that there are transport difficulties. The question is, is it necessary and are we threatened there in a vital manner ? If we are, then we should send the troops there.

We have heard much talk about an alternate Government and the difficulty of finding one. I do not believe there would be any difficulty. You could constitute twenty or thirty alternative Governments out of this House, Nothing would be easier. What is wanted is an alternative policy and, I am sorry to say I do not see any sign of such a thing on the part of any alternative Government. It has been freely rumoured for long that the Prime Minister holds the Eastern view, that he regards the Eastern Front as our vital front, and that he has been in favour of making far larger efforts in the East. That has been stated time and again, and never, so far as I know, has it been contradicted. The Noble Lord, the Minister for Blockade, believe this is the vital front where a knock-out blow could be delivered, then he ought not to remain in his present positions if he cannot succeed in inducing the Government also to take that view. I hold this view so strongly that, if I could see any alternative Government prepared to pursue it, I would be willing to give it my support.

"THE ROUTE TO INDIA."

Towards the end of 1915, after Serbia had been crushed, there appeared in the "Daily Mail" a map, which was entitled "The Route to India," and which excited a great deal of attention. I am not accustomed to taking political guidance from the columns of the "Daily Mail," but I thought this map was an important document. It showed the connection of Berlin and Vienna with the Baghdad railway and the Persian Gulf. It showed that the narrow corridor between Germany and Asia Minor, through the Balkans and through Constantinople, which had hitherto been blocked by a hostile Serbia and a neutral Bulgaria, had been burst through, that the area was clear, that Germany was in direct communication with Bagdad, and that the war was open to her, in her drive towards the Persian Gulf, towards Persia and towards Afghanistan. Of course nobody is ignorant of the geography of the situation, but this map did really show the route, and figuratively and picturesquely it showed the German purpose. It was my opinion then, and it is still my opinion, that this map was one of the most valuable documents published since the War began. It incurred very grave censure at the time from the Front Bench. It was referred to almost as a treasonable document, as a dangerous document, which might stir up alarm amongst the people, which would give comfort and consolation to the King's enemies, and which would be an occasion for jubilant propaganda by them. I

wish it had stirred up more alarm. The real cause for alarm lay not in the map itself ; but in the facts of the situation which it revealed in the German purpose in the route that lay open to Germany to achieve her purpose, and on the nakedness and defenceless state of the Empire, as we then stood against that menace. Unfortunately, it caused very little alarm save on the Front Bench. They were alarmed lest the people should be alarmed. I doubt very much whether the "Daily Mail" was alarmed. I think probably it was only a piece of topical sensationalism which they forgot about the next day. If the "Daily Mail" had only pursued this subject it might have achieved useful results in awakening public opinion in this country to the real nature of the danger to which the Empire was exposed in the East. If there had been that stirring of public opinion whether it was wise or foolish, they would have been moved to give further consideration to this aspect of the world War than they have done in the past.

THE THREE PHASES.

This menace, dimly apprehended by the people, divined only by a few of our statesmen and soldiers, has been inherent in the situation from the very beginning of the War, and since the beginning of the War it has passed through, three phases. Three phases really sum up the War in the East. There was, first of all, the Balkan Baghdad phase, then there was the Persian phase ; and then the Russian phase. The possibilities and the danger of a German drive through the Balkans towards Baghdad and the Persian Gulf were realised by few of our statesmen ; and it was to meet this menace that the Dardanelles Expedition was first planned. That was an attempt to defeat that menace by cutting through the narrow neck of the German enterprise, but cutting through the corridor, at its narrowest. That attempt failed. It failed for the simple reason that the Western view prevailed. It was held that the first call upon all our resources in men and material must be for the purpose of maintaining a great attempt to break through on the West ; and that only after the predominant claim of the offensive campaign on the West had been met would such forces as could be spared be available for the East. Accordingly, the attempt in the East was made with inadequate forces and failed. For the same reason the proposals which were made, and made with the same object, to go to the aid of Serbia, in the early days of the War, or to effect a landing at Alexandretta and cut through the Baghdad railway at another portion, failed to materialise because the Western view prevailed. And for the same reason also the

expedition to Salonika has been neutralised and stultified ; and with the crushing of Serbia and the withdrawal of our forces from Gallipoli the triumph of Germany in this phase of the Eastern menace was complete.

Sir J. D. Rees :—In order to follow the argument of the Hon. Gentleman, will he say what he means by cutting the Baghdad railway at Alexandretta, which is some hundred miles from it ?

Mr. Scott :—What does one mean by attacking the Germans in France ? You must begin somewhere. There was no object in landing at Alexandria unless it was to advance and attempt to cut the Baghdad railway. The next phase of the Eastern menace is what I think may be called the Persian phase. After Germany had succeeded in bursting through the barrier of the Balkans and maintaining unfettered communication with Baghdad, then we had to do something at the other end of the road. It was then that the first advance towards Baghdad was commenced and the expedition was sent forward and pressed without adequate preparations so that it ended disastrously at Kut. At that time the Russians had failed to advance from the Caucasus through Armenia, our own expedition had capitulated at Kut ; and Caucasus and the lower waters of the Euphrates fell into their hand, and through that gap there was unfettered communication between Germany and Turkey and Persia. Through that gap German agents, German arms, material, and German propaganda were constantly pouring. German influence penetrated and permeated Persia. It reached Afghanistan and the frontiers of India.

THE THIRD PHASE OF THE DANGER.

Here I may be thought to be treading on delicate ground, but I have nothing to say on this subject except what has already been said in another place by present Ministers and late Ministers. I have here one or two extracts from the Debates in another place which show to what extent this danger had gone, and to what extent it was reaching India. On the 30th February 1917, there was a Debate in the House of Lords, inaugurated, I think, by Lord Bryce on the subject of Sir Percy Sykes's expedition to Persia. Lord Curzon said :—

"At one time there were quite 100 of these German Agents, good fellows of the baser sort, scattered about in different parts of Persia, terrorising the peaceful tribes, and offering bribes to their chieftains. They further succeeded in attracting to their side a number of seditionists from India..... They carried their operations as far East as Persian Beluchistan, in the neighbourhood of the British Indian border and they even penetrated in small well-organised

groups, into Afghanistan, where they were heard of at Herat and at Kabul where a German deputation was kept for some months in the hope of seducing the Amir of that country from his loyalty to ourselves."

On the 12th July last year there was a further Debate in the House of Lords, with special reference to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Mesopotamia expedition. The Marquis of Lansdowne said :—

"Persia was passing more and more rapidly under German influence. The attitude of the Amir, which in the end proved so satisfactory was at the time doubtful, and it is very hard indeed to say whether Lord Hardinge would have been able to give your Lordship the satisfactory account which he gave the other evening of the temper of the Indian people, if we had shown at the very outset that we had not sufficient courage to strike a blow where a blow was likely to be most effectual."

In the course of the same debate the Marquis of Crewe, who was justifying the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which ended disastrously, made these observations :—

"At that time the Russians had not advanced in Asia, nor had they proved that they could advance. There was nothing apparently to prevent the Turks from directing a force on Kermanshah and obtaining control in Persia. If Persia had gone Afghanistan might have followed suit. The Amir has shown the most signal loyalty to his engagements and a wise understanding of the situation. But he might easily have been swept off his feet, and it is impossible to say what a blaze might have been created. At Bagdad a force would have been on the flank of any such advance by the Turks into Persia which supplies a further reason for making the advance."

That was the form which the Eastern menace had taken at that time, the same menace that has existed from the beginning—German penetration of Persia and through Persia to Afghanistan and the agitations on the Indian Frontier. The menace of a rising of the wild tribes on the Northern Frontier has always been the nightmare of Indian statemen. We have prevented it in the past on any very large scale by preventing arms and munitions reaching those tribes. We have kept them disarmed by means of the patrol which we have exercised in the Persian Gulf and adjacent quarters to prevent gun running. That patrol was useless at this phase of the War; and there was a constant stream of weapons, machine guns and rifles, and of skilled German agents, penetrating through Persia up to Afghanistan and the north-west frontier. It was to meet this menace that the second expedition was sent forward on a larger scale and pressed forward to Bagdad and beyond, in fact almost until it joined hands with the Russians who had advanced through the Caucasus and through Armenia. The gap was closed, and there, for the time being, was the end of that particular phase of the

menace. The misfortune was that we treated it merely as a local danger, as a temporary threat, and we were content with stop-gap measures. The third phase of this danger has come with the collapse of Russia, and it is by far the most dangerous menace.

ROADS THROUGH WHICH GERMANS MIGHT PENETRATE.

The roads through which the Germans might penetrate through Persia to the north-west were wild tracks. There were no bridges and no railways, but a long and arduous and dangerous journey. But through Russia they are now in direct railway communication with the frontier and Afghanistan. There are two railway lines, either of which they might use. There is the Trans-caspian railway and another railway line. Any one who knows the country will know how dangerous they are. They are military railways, designed for technical purposes. The Transcaspian Railway runs from Krasnovodsk, on the eastern shores of the Caspian, skirting the northern frontier of Afghanistan.

Sir J. D. Rees. A desert.

Mr. Scott: Yes, but a railway. It is all very well to say, "a desert," but a railway bridges a desert. The port of Karsnovodsk is directly opposite the port of Baku, which is the terminus of the Caucasus Railway. It is in direct communication with Batum, and the whole journey from Berlin is direct by railway to the port of Batum. There is only steamer transport across Caspian, and then you have railway communication direct to the Afghanistan frontier. Do you think the Germans are going to remain oblivious to the possibilities of that railway communication? Why, only in Wednesday's papers we can see what it means. I find in the "Times" this morning a message from the Berlin semi-official agency referring to what is called the economical-political appendix to the treaty just concluded between Russia and Germany. There it is stated that by the establishment of free transit direct commercial communication is secured via Russia with Persia and Afghanistan which was hitherto barred. But that railway communication is not all. On the South something has happened also. The Russian forces, cut off from all supplies, cut off from all external aid, have not been able to hold their own in Armenia and the Caucasus. They have fallen back. The gap is still open. Northern Persia is unmasked; and through that gap once more rifles, machine guns, supplies and German propaganda are permeating Northern Persia. Along the whole Southern frontier, along the Western frontier, they

have practically encircled Afghanistan. They have proved themselves most loyal in the past. I believe they are still, and I believe they will remain so. But it is easy to see that their hands may be forced. The rule of the Government of Afghanistan over the wilder tribes is a shadowy and a vague rule. If these tribes are armed with weapons of precision and they are subject to the incitement of German agents, there is no saying what may happen. The Afghan Government may be overthrown. Why not take it into consideration? It has been suggested in the House of Lords by His Majesty's Ministers; and if it is suggested there why not suggest it here, and ask for adequate consideration?

Frontier rising in India.

Do they realise that we are now faced with the imminent possibility of a frontier rising in India on an unprecedented scale?

Sir J. D. Rees: There is no sign of it.

Mr. Scott: There have been many signs of it, and I can quote statements from His Majesty's ministers to justify it. I want to know whether the Government are alive to that danger. I do not ask what measures they are taking to provide against it. It would not be proper for them to disclose in this House what are the measures whereby they propose to meet it. I believe adequate measures can be taken. If it were not that I thought it would be an improper aspect of the subject to discuss in this House I would suggest now the measures which I think ought to be taken, can be taken, and which would provide against the materialising of the danger.

The last point which I wish to make is this; that this Eastern menace is the greatest danger to which we are exposed in this War. It is the vulnerable flank of the British Empire. There is a great difference between the two; and I believe it is that margin which will meet the situation in the East. I have no expectation of a break-through ever being achieved on the West. The forcing of trench after trench, mile after mile one behind the other, there is no chance of a break through; but on the East there is a danger that while we are lavishing our strength on the fruitless effort to achieve an impossible task we may ourselves be exposed to a blow which will be fatal to our continuance in this War.

THE SUBRAMANIA LETTER.

House of Commons—3 June '18

Mr. Joynson-Hicks asked the Sec. of state (1) whether his attention has been called to the letter of Sir Subramaniya Aiyer to President Wilson; whether this letter was grossly defamatory of British rule in India; whether any action been taken against him under the Defence of India act; (2) whether he was among those making representations to him (Montagu) during his recent visit.

General Croft asked a similar question and also enquired if the gentleman (Sir S. Aiyer) has fallen under the influence of Mrs. Besant; and what action is proposed to be taken with a view to putting an end to such propaganda?

Mr. Montagu—The disgraceful letter is correctly described. Its impropriety is all the more inexcusable because of the position of the writer. But the assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to receive notice from any responsible authority. No action has as yet been taken but I am in communication with the Viceroy.

Sir. J. D. Rees—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that this member of a short-lived race is already upwards seventy-seven years old, and that this is a senile production?

Debate in the Lords.

In the House of Lords, on the 18th June, Lord Harris was:—

To ask His Majesty's Government whether their attention has been called to a letter alleged to have been addressed by Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyer, K.C.I.E., late Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, to President Wilson attributing to the British Government in India misrule, oppression, the grant of exorbitant salaries, the refusal of education, the sapping of the wealth of India, the imposition of crushing taxation, the imprisonment of thousands of people, and the deaths of civilian prisoners from loathsome diseases; and if so, whether they propose to take any steps in condemnation of the same; and if they have not had their attention called to it, whether they will make enquiries.

Lord Harris said:—My Lords, my question has been deferred, at the suggestion of my noble friend Lord Curzon for, so long that answers have been given in another place (H. of Commons) which practically dispose of any obscurity there may be in it; but I shall take the liberty, thanks to the elasticity which is accorded to questions in this House, of offering a few remarks upon the reply of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State has stigmatised this letter as "disgraceful and improper," but notwithstanding that the Government of India has decided to take no further notice of it than the reproof which had been described by the Secretary of State—namely that "they ex-

press their surprise and regret at the letter'; yet, "in view of Sir S. Subramaniya Aiyar's age, health, and past services, they do not propose to take any further action, but warn him not to do it again." In the meantime the Secretary of State does not propose to interfere with the discretion of the Government of India. I take leave to deprecate that inaction. This person is an ex-judge of the High Court of Madras. He is a pensioner, and it seems rather odd that he should, in his letter, take exception to exorbitant salaries and large allowances when he is drawing a very handsome pension, towards which, I imagine he has not contributed as an Indian Civil Servant would have contributed.

I should like to call your Lordships' attention to a comment in the "Madras Mail."

"We merely wish to draw attention to the existence of the Defence of India Act, which makes it criminal to spread false reports or report likely to cause disaffection or alarm, or to prejudice His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers or to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects."

The ex-Judge of the High Court of Madras who ought to be learned in the law has disregarded the law according to the opinion of the "Madras Mail" and, at any rate, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, has behaved "disgracefully and improperly." As I have said he is a pensioner, but the Government of India do not propose to take any further action than this mild reproof; therefore the Indian tax payer is to continue to contribute to a person what is probably handsome. Now, I have known of a case—and I dare say the noble Earl has known of others—where an Indian Civil Servant, who during a very long service had been contributing to the pension he was to receive, has been mulcted of a portion of his pension because he had, in the opinion of the Government of India, behaved improperly. That is the penalty which is meted out to an Englishman if he misbehaves in India. But apparently the Government of India do not think it necessary to penalise an Indian who, although he is a lawyer, ignores the law, and behaves "disgracefully and improperly."

I deprecate this inaction because I am certain that it will be a discouragement to the loyal and law-abiding subjects of His Majesty in India, and I have very little doubt that those who follow and support Mrs. Besant, and others who entertain opinions similar to hers, will claim this reply of the Secretary of State as a triumph for their policy. The British Raj may be vilified and the law may be disregarded by a lawyer, and the only action that is taken by the Government of India

is something like what one would say to a little child—namely, that he is a naughty old man and is not to do it again. So much for the Government of India and its inaction.

But the Viceroy exercises other authorities than those in participation with his colleagues. He is Grand Master of the Indian Empire, and this individual is a Knight Commander of the most eminent Order of the Indian Empire; and if the Viceroy contemplates giving some condonation to him what it amounts to is this, that in his opinion the Knights of the Order ought to be prepared for all time to accept this individual—who has, as the Secretary of the State says, behaved disgracefully—to accept him during his life as a comrade and brother of the order. If this man has behaved disgracefully he has certainly disgraced his knighthood, and if the Viceroy contemplates taking no action in the matter—not submitting any proposals to the Sovereign—all I can say is that I should imagine that there are other members of the Order besides myself who resent that we should be compelled to accept the comradeship of a man who has been breaking the law in the way I have described, and who has acted disgracefully. As my noble friend knows quite well, and a great deal better than I do, if this man disobeyed any of the rule of his caste—I do not know what his caste is—certainly if it is an honourable caste—he would be compelled to do some penance. The man has offended, according to the Secretary of State, against the honourable and chivalrous rules of his Order—in other words, of his caste—and I hope sincerely that the Viceroy may regard it as a duty to his Sovereign and to his Order to take some notice of it.

Viscount Haldane—My Lords, before the noble Earl answers, there are one or two observations which I should like to make. My noble friend opposite has proposed, in the case of Sir Subramania Aiyar, that his pension should be taken away or reduced, and that his name should be removed from the Order of K. C. I. E. to which he belongs. Now, there is no doubt that the letter in question was a very foolish and very improper one, and it has been stigmatised as such in unmistakable terms by the Secretary of State. No doubt it was very wrong to write such a letter as that to the head of a foreign State. On the other hand, these things are done in politics all over the world and I am not sure that things of the same kind have not been done in this country. Among ourselves they have certainly been done, and done with perfect freedom with no penal clause, however strong may be the stigma of public opinion attaching to them.

What is the situation? The situation is that the Government, on the 30th August last, announced a policy. The Government which the noble Earl opposite represents here announced a policy of the extension freely and progressively of responsible Government in India.....It is desirable while this is under discussion, as it is likely to be for some time to come, that as far as possible bitterness and action which can provoke violent reaction should be abolished. The learned Judge whose name is associated with what has been done is a very well known man in India. He is a retired Acting Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, and has to my knowledge rendered very distinguished services on the Bench. As to his pension, that perhaps he regards as part of the contract into which he entered when he undertook to serve the Government of Madras as a judge.

Lord Haris—What about good behaviour?

Viscount Haldane.—Every Judge is appointed on those terms, but you cannot remove him except for grave misconduct—for what is, in effect, a breach of some very binding public rule. A retired Judge has perfect freedom to take part in politics—if he expresses himself decently if you like—and you would take away his pension only for gravest matters coming within the Criminal Law. To remove him from the order to which he belongs is again to make a declaration of war which I think is at this moment highly inexpedient in India. To my mind the most material circumstance of all is that the Viceroy advised the Government not to take any action, and in those circumstances I should be very sorry if the Government were to depart in any way from the line taken by their representatives in the other House of Parliament. However reprehensible it is, and however bad, violent action is not calculated to make things any better but probably a good deal worse.

The Lord President of the Council (Earl Curzon of Kedleston):—My Lords In the regrettable absence of the Under-Secretary of State for India I will reply on behalf of the India Office to my noble friend, and I think I shall be able, in what I have to say, to throw some further light upon the incident to which he has referred. The worst parts of the language of the retired Judge are contained in the quotation which appears in the Question as put upon the Paper by my noble friend. As regards the language all of your Lordships will agree that it is, to use the adjectives which my noble friend quoted from the Secretary of State, disgraceful and improper in the extreme. I think that the noble and learned Viscount opposite did not by any means err on the side of severity in the

manner in which he spoke of that language. I think, indeed, he might have spoken rather more strongly than he did. These statements undoubtedly contain a series of outrageous calumnies against the British Government in India—calumnies which would be culpable if they emanated from a person of the age, experience, and authority of this ex-Judge, no one can possibly be found to excuse. It is quite true, as my noble friend Lord Harris points out, that the author of these remarks was a Judge of the High Court of Madras for twelve years and ended by being Acting Chief Justice, and that he received as a recognition of this long, and up to this point meritorious career the high honour of a Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire.

Now, what are the actual facts connected with this deplorable publication? This old man—he is now in very advanced years—I think nearer eighty than seventy—retired in the year 1907. He then fell under the influence of Mrs. Besant, who is very active in her operations in the Presidency of Madras, and under that influence he became President of the Indian Home Rule League. This letter by the retired Judge, although it came to our cognisance in England only a few weeks ago, was written as far back as the 4th June 1917. I have the whole letter here, a portion of which only has appeared in the Press in this country. The first part of the letter contained a plea, couched in not improper language, for Home Rule in India; the latter part consisted of an eulogy of the services of Indian soldiers in France and other theatres of war, but in the middle part of the letter occurred the passage which appears in the question of my noble friend and which no language could be too strong, in my judgment, to condemn.

The writer of this letter which was addressed to President Wilson, entrusted it to an American Gentleman and his wife travelling in India who were known as lecturers and authors in their own country, to be handed to President Wilson on their return to the United States. It was communicated at Washington to the British Embassy, by whom it was transmitted to the Foreign Office here. It was passed on by them to the Secretary of State for India, who was as much astonished at this incident as could be any member of your Lordship's House, and who took it out with him to India. The Secretary of State, I think quite properly, did not want himself to be responsible for bringing about the publication of the letter, which had not then appeared in any form in print; still less did he want to advertise the culpable folly of its author. Accordingly when he went, in the discharge of his mission, to Madras in com-

pany with the Viceroy, they sent for the writer of the letter—this is an incident which was, of course, not known to my noble friend—and administered to him a severe reprimand. That was, I think either at the end of last year or in the early part of this year.

At a latter date—in May of the present year—the letter appeared in the Indian Press, and from there it was communicated to journals in this country. The noble Lord probably saw it, as I did for the first time in the columns of the "Times." How it got into the Indian Press, who communicated it we do not know. There is some reason, I am told, to believe that it got in the first place into the American Press and may have been copied from there into the Press in India. Now my Lords, when we first saw the publication while there could be no two opinions as to its character the question naturally arose whether his act was to be treated with the extreme severity which no doubt the language in itself merited or whether it was to be regarded rather as a melancholy aberration on the part of an old man who had in the course of a long career rendered considerable service to the State, who is now in advanced years, in the enjoyment only of feeble health, and whose utterances on a matter of this sort, I believe are devoid of any influence and can carry no conceivable weight with any respectable class of his fellow countrymen.

This was a question which, feeling it difficult ourselves to solve without more local knowledge than we possessed, we naturally referred to the Government of India. They replied in the general terms which were quoted by my noble friend—namely, that they were addressing the Judge, through the Government of Madras, informing him that his action in writing to President Wilson in the manner he had done was regarded with regret and surprise by them, but that in view of his great age, failing health, and past judicial services they did not propose to take any further notice of his action. At the same time, the old man was warned that any repetition of such conduct could not be passed over by the Government of India. The noble Lord is dissatisfied with that notice. He thinks it was insufficient for the circumstances of the case. I believe that there were—and I think I can easily show to the House that there are good subsidiary reasons for taking the line that the Viceroy and his colleagues did.

In the first place, there was no direct evidence, as I pointed out just now, that the retired Judge was himself responsible for the publication. Again, as I have also pointed out, the letter had already been made the subject of a severe personal reprimand.

mand by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Further, although I would not wish to lay too much stress upon this, it must be remembered that there had been an interval of nearly a year between the original writing of the letter and its publication, whether accidental or not, in India and in this country. There is another consideration which is always present in the minds of the Government when they are dealing with cases of this sort, and that is the inexpediency of doing anything which may convert a person relatively harmless into a political martyr, and may arouse political agitation at a time when such a thing is extremely undesirable.

The noble Lord raised the question of the pension enjoyed by this person, and of his membership of a great and distinguished Order. As regards the pension, the Statutory Rules for High Court Judges in India do not provide for the withdrawal of pension, and it was felt by the Government of India that the forfeiture of his Knight Commandership of the Indian Empire, which would furnish him with an advertisement that the Government of India were not at all anxious to give, would strike an unfortunate and discordant note in the midst of the successful and loyal war effort in which the Government of India had invited the people of that country to take part, and to which they are responding with so much alacrity and success. These were the reasons my Lords that led the Viceroy and his colleagues in India to stop short at the action which I have already described. It is regarded as adequate by the Secretary of State for India. In a matter of this sort, knowing both ends of the scale, I should be very reluctant to interfere with the discretion of the Viceroy or his colleagues and I am disposed to concur with the Secretary of State in thinking that the action which has been taken is in all circumstance of the case, sufficient and adequate.

The Marquis of Crewe :—My Lords, my noble friend Lord Harris always takes so moderate, and if he will allow me to say, so reasonable a view of Indian administration that a motion of this kind brought forward by him, must necessarily engage the attention of your Lordships' House, but I am bound to say that in this instance the answer which the noble Earl, the leader of the House, has given does satisfy the reason of those who consider the question. There can, of course, be only one opinion about the language used by this old ex-Judge whom I remember, in my time as Secretary of State for India, as having a high reputation as a member of the Madras Bench, and as being regarded as a dis-

tinguished figure, what we should call in this country a somewhat extreme politician, although not extreme in the Indian sense where the term is used somewhat differently from what it is here.

I am not quite sure that I agree with my noble and learned friend behind me that at a time when a great policy of the amendment of the Constitution is impending you ought, therefore, to pass over language or action which at any other time you might deal with severely. I confess that this particular argument never appealed to me in connection with India or with Ireland. But I do think that in dealing with utterances of this kind the one main point which the Government has to bear in mind is what the effect of the language is likely to be in view of the state of the country and of the authority of the person who uses it. In this instance having regard to all the conditions and to the fact that the old ex-judge is of an age which would be advanced here but is in India very advanced indeed, I cannot believe it can be supposed that any real encouragement is given to sedition by such language as this. It can, I think, be passed over with some thing of a shrug of regret that a public servant of some distinction, possibly with some decay of mind, has become imbued with these ideas, which, as we know, are the common place of ordinary Indian disaffection; and I think probably that the Government of India and the Secretary of State are wise to leave the matter there.

I do not believe that either by attaching part of the pension of Sir Subramania Aiyar, or by removing him from the Order any genuine purpose would be served. As the noble Earl, the Lord President of the Council, has said some people might be tempted to regard him as a martyr to liberal ideas, and I cannot think that those who belong to that Order are seriously affected by the presence of that ex-judge in their ranks. In all these circumstances I am therefore disposed to believe that the Government of India and the Secretary of State have taken the more sensible course.

THE LETTER TO PRESIDENT WILSON.

Madras, India, 24th June, 1917.

To His Excellency President Wilson.

Honored Sir: I address this letter to you as Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, an organisation voicing the aspirations of a United India, as expressed through the Indian National Congress and the All

India Muslim League. These are the only two bodies in India to-day which truly represent the political ideals of that Nation of more than three hundred million people, because the only bodies created by the people themselves.

Over five thousand delegates of these two popular assemblies met at their annual convention in Lucknow last December, and they unanimously and jointly agreed upon identical Resolutions, asking His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, to issue a proclamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer Self Government on India at an early date, to grant democratising reforms, and to lift India from the position of a Dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the Self Governing Dominions.

While these Resolutions, Honoured Sir, voiced India's aspirations, they also expressed her loyalty to the Crown. But though many months have elapsed, Great Britain has not yet made any official promise to grant our country's plea. Perhaps this is because the Government is too fully occupied with the heavy responsibility of the War.

But it is the very relationship of the Indian Nationalist Movement to the War that urges the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy—for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least five million men in three months for service at the front, and of five million more in another three months.

India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies. The people of India will do this, because then they would be free men and not slaves.

At present we are subject Nation, held in chains, forbidden by our alien rulers to express publicly our desire for the ideals presented in your famous War Message: "... the liberation of peoples, the rights of nations great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their ways of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."

Even as conditions are, India has more than proved her loyalty to the Allies. She has contributed freely and generously of both blood and treasure in France, in Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for India, said: "There are Indian troops in France to this day; their gallantry, endurance, patience and perseverance, were shown under conditions new and strange to them." Field Marshal Lord French said: "I have been much impressed by the initiative and resources displayed by the Indian troops." The London "Times" said concerning the fall of Baghdad: "It should always be remembered that a very large proportion of the force which General Maude has guided to victory are Indian regiments. The cavalry which hung on the flanks and demoralized the Turkish army and chased it to the confines of Baghdad must have been almost exclusively Indian cavalry. The infantry which bore months of privation and proved in the end masters of the Turks, included Indian units, which had already fought heroically in France, Gallipoli and Egypt."

If Indian soldiers have achieved such splendid results for the Allies while slaves, how much greater would be their power if inspired by the sentiments

which can arise only in the souls of free men—men who are fighting not only for their own liberties but for the liberties of mankind! The truth is that they are now sacrificing their lives to maintain the supremacy of an alien Nation which uses that supremacy to dominate and rule them against their will.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that the official Government in India utterly failed to get a response to its recent appeal to Indians to volunteer for military service. Only five hundred men came forward out of a possible thirty million.

It is our earnest hope that you may so completely convert England to your ideals of world liberation that together you will make it possible for India's millions to lend assistance in this war.

Permit me to add that you and the other leaders have been kept in ignorance of the full measure of misrule and oppression in India. Officials of an alien nation, speaking a foreign tongue, force their will upon us; they grant themselves exorbitant salaries and large allowances; they refuse us education; they sap us of our wealth; they impose crushing taxes without our consent; they cast thousands of our people into prisons for uttering patriotic sentiments, prisons so filthy that often the inmates die from loathsome diseases.

A recent instance of misrule is the imprisonment of Mrs. Annie Besant, that noble Irish woman who has done so much for India. As set forth in the accompanying statement signed by eminent legislators, editors, educators and pleaders, she had done nothing except carry on a law-abiding and constitutional propaganda of reforms; the climax being her internment, without charges and without trial, shortly after printing and circulating your War Message.

I believe His Majesty, the King, and the English Parliament are unaware of these conditions and that, if they can be informed, they will order Mrs. Besant's immediate release.

A mass of documentary evidence, entirely reliable, corroborative and explanatory of the statements in this letter, is in the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, who would esteem it a privilege to place it at your disposal. I have entrusted this letter to them because it would never have been permitted to reach you by mail. They are loyal Americans, editors, authors and lecturers on educational and humanitarian subjects, who have been deeply interested in the welfare of India. They have sojourned here off and on during the last ten years, and so have been eye-witnesses to many of the conditions herein described. They have graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey this letter to you personally in Washington.

Honoured Sir, the aching heart of India cries out to you, whom we believe to be an instrument of God in the reconstruction of the world.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

S. Subramaniam.

Knight Commander Indian Empire, Doctor of Laws;
Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India;
Co-Founder of the National Congress of India in 1885;
Retired Judge and frequently Acting Chief Justice
of the High Court of Madras.

NOTE.

. This letter profoundly convulsed America from one end to the other. It was delivered to President Wilson about Sep. '17, and he sent it at once to his Sec. of State, Mr. Lansing, with a note to look into it carefully. The next day a printed copy of the letter was placed on the desk of 333 Senators and Congressmen. A graphic account of the offer of ten million men was flashed all over the vast continent by the Press. There was a great sensation, 1500 Newspapers with their 20,000,000 readers took up the cry. England was strongly criticised. Military men were strongly impressed with the plea. American Labour at once wanted Home rule for India as in Canada and Australia, and pressure was applied on the British Govt. to consider the proposal favourably.

The immediate effect of the letter on India's Cause is not clearly known. But people in India witnessed some unwonted and phenomenal change in the '*angle of vision*' of the stolid Indian Govt: (1) the release of Annie Besant by the Imperial Govt. (2) the shame of the crest-fallen Lord Pentland's Govt. of Madras, and (3) the visit to India of the Sec. of State. In reality however there is nothing to connect these with the Letter.

Immediately after the discussion of the Letter in Parliament where the venerable Indian ex-judge and Congress-President was wantonly insulted—not on his face but behind his back, in the comfortable dovecot of a house where India is not represented—Sir Subramaniam issued the following Press communique which will be read with interest.

Subramania's letter to the Press.

Feeling that I should not allow any lapse of time to take place, I proceed at once to offer such explanation as is in my power in the present circumstances with reference to the proceedings in the House of Commons on the 3rd inst. The matter may seem personal at first sight, but in reality is one of supreme public importance. Of course I refer to the Secretary of States answer to the question by Mr. Hicks regarding my letter to President Wilson. Though there has been a great deal of discussion on the subject in the Press all over India, particularly in the Anglo-Indian journals, I have thought it my duty to refrain from saying anything myself about the said letter. Even had I adopted a different course, I could have added nothing worth the attention of my countrymen, having regard especially to the complete light thrown on the subject by what appeared in "New India" some weeks ago and which has since been made easily accessible to the public in the shape of a pamphlet under the title. "An Abominable Plot. But silence which I had imposed on myself must now cease and the strange utterance of the Secretary of State on the 3rd instant in reply to Mr. Hicks question makes it obligatory on me to take notice of it. In doing so, it is only necessary just to advert as briefly and accurately as I can to what took place in December last during the visit of H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to this city and to a communication received by me from the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government bearing the date 8. 8. 18.

The Interview with Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

Most are aware that I was among those who sought and obtained an interview with the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. At the time appointed I presented myself at the Government House, and on taking my seat, the interview was begun by His Excellency the Viceroy in a spirit and warmth which absolutely startled me. In referring to what was said by the august personages and my humble self in connection with the letter in question at the interview, it is surely necessary to say that I am not violating any confidence. The interview was neither expressly nor by implication understood to involve any secrecy, and even had it been otherwise, the Chief Secretary's letter to me alluded to above removes any seal of privacy that may by any stretch of imagination be taken as attaching to what transpired at the interview.

To return to what fell from His Excellency on the special point dealt with here. The very first words, addressed to me in a tone which I most respectfully venture to describe as plainly exhibiting much temper, were in regard to the letter. 'I felt I was being treated harshly and not fairly for I was there to discuss political reform and not to answer to a charge of misconduct in addressing the President of the United States and I felt that I should not have been taken so unawares and made to defend myself without the least previous consideration and reflection. I did not, however, think it right to protest against the course adopted by His Excellency, but unreservedly placed before him that explanation which it was in my power on the spur of the moment to offer on the subject. In short, I told His Excellency that I found myself in a very peculiar position at the time the letter was written, and in addressing it I acted entirely 'bona fide,' and in the hope of securing through the influence of the President of the great nation that was in perfect amity with His Majesty the King-Emperor, nay more, in utter sympathy with the aims and objects of the Allies cause, that relief which we Home Rulers then stood imperatively in need of. I told His Excellency our position was this: Of the four chief officials of the Home Rule League, three of them, namely, Mrs. Besant the President Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, the Secretary and Treasurer, had been interned in the course of that very week, and the fourth official, myself, as Honourary President, every moment expected to be dealt with by the local government in a similar fashion; that it was widely believed that the action of the Government in the matter had the sanction of His Excellency, and possibly of the then Secretary of State. I urged with all deference, that it was hardly otherwise than natural and fair and just that I should avail myself of the opportunity afforded by the visit just then intended to be made by Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner to America, where I knew they had influential friends who would and could interest themselves in the welfare of India and her people, and in particular exert themselves towards the release of Mrs. Besant, well-known throughout that Continent and held in high estimation by many thousands among the citizens of that free American nation. I added that if it were necessary I could substantiate every

important allegation in the letter as regards the defects of the rule in this country by unimpeachable evidence and offered to submit to His Excellency, if permitted, copies of certain letters then in my possession as regards the inhuman treatment to which the internees in Bengal were systematically subjected, as a proof in support of one of the points urged in the letter with special reference to which His Excellency expressed his strong condemnation.

Madras Chief Secretary's Letter.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. Suffice it to say that His Excellency conveyed his displeasure at my conduct in the most unmistakable manner in the presence of and with the express approval of the Secretary of State, and acting, if I may say so, on behalf of the latter also for the moment. Of what took place subsequently between the Indian Government and the Madras Government in relation to my letter I am unaware, save the intimation which I received from the Chief Secretary in a letter which runs as follows:—

Fort St. George.
Madras, 8-2 1918.

D. O.

Dear Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail." It has been intimated to His Excellency in Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully,
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson,
Acting Chief Secretary.

One would think that this letter put an end to the matter. Unfortunately, however, things are shaping themselves in a way hopelessly injurious to the interests of the Empire in special reference to India under the unwise guidance of the War Cabinet, and the Secretary of State very shortly after his arrival in this country, became a pitiable prey to the machinations of the bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indians and Sydenhamites. He found himself incapable of acting with that dignity and responsibility befitting a Minister of the Crown at this critical juncture, and is apparently a tool in the hands of those who are exerting so bane-

ful an influence upon him since his return to his place in the Cabinet. Such is the inevitable conclusion which the events of the 3rd June point to.

I Waive all Opposition to Future Action.

Now it was admitted by His Excellency in the course of my interview with him that my letter to the President had been forwarded by the Cabinet to him some time previously. The Secretary of State could not therefore have been ignorant of the fact at the time of such transmission. Assuming that he was ignorant of it at first, he subsequently was a party to the rebuke administered to me, in the language of the Chief secretary's letter, expressing the final decision of the authorities on the subject and it could not have emanated without the full consent and sanction of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State likewise. Be this as it may it is only right that I should add that I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demands of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause all that is mine, my name, my liberty, and every thing else, must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like, have no terror for me ; and at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining Home Rule for India than to become an object of official tyranny.

The view I take of the situation is this. The internments of June last year were a step designed by those unseen Spiritual Powers who are seeking to uplift India and save the British Empire from certain destruction by the unwise rule of the bureaucracy here, and elsewhere. That step had the intended effect to a certain extent. It roused the country as nothing else could have done to a sense of its duty. It is evident however that we were lapsing into a stupour inimical to all our best interests, and a further rousing is necessary. In all humility I take it, I am the fortunate person, autocratic action against whom would afford the necessary stimulus now needed again.

I most earnestly hope that this view of the situation will commend itself to the minds of my countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land and make them once more rally round the standard of liberty for India as an integral part of the Empire, and persist in that ceaseless agitation on constitutional lines, and only on those lines, until the goal is won or lost, which latter contingency can come about only with the disruption of the British Empire and solely through the inconceivable folly of those who are guiding its destinies at this hour of peril.

It only remains to add that I would be descending to a level that decency would prohibit were I to bandy words with the Secretary of State with reference to the ungracious and ungraceful language, which he thought fit to employ, in replying to Mr. Hick's question—language which I am afraid was prompted altogether by petty party tactics. Surely he could have fully and adequately discharged his duty and with candour, had he told the House what had been done, when he was in this country, by way of censoring me.

I must however not flinch from protesting against the view that there was

anything in my position, past or present, that in the slightest degree rendered it discreditable to me to submit my representation to President Wilson.

Most happy to renounce the Knighthood.

The telegraphic summary which alone is before me throws no light on what the Secretary of State had in mind in referring to my position in the course of his remarks. If it was my membership as a Knight Companion of the Indian Order that he was thinking of, all I can say is, none can agree with him in supposing that the possession of this title debars me from criticising misrule in this country. It is worthy of remark that titles like these are conferred on His Majesty's Indian subjects without their consent, and however unwilling one may be to become the recipient of these official favours etiquette understood in this country precludes him from refusing to accept them. For my own part I shall be most happy to renounce this Knight Companionship and return at once the insignia thereof, which on my death my heirs have to return, or remit the value thereof, if the retention of the title and the insignia should in any way hinder the exercise of my right of citizenship to complain of wrongs and seek redress against the consequences of maladministration.

I doubt whether even half a dozen among my friends or enemies now know the history of my Knighthood. Needless to say it was not a reward for any liberal use of wealth which is the royal road to such distinctions, for the simple reason that I have never had money enough to make such use or show of it. Nor was it the reward for any special service, public or private, but due to a mere accident if I may put it so. Having acted as Chief Justice for a month and a half about August, 1899, on the retirement of Sir Arthur Collins, the announcement of the Honour in my case followed on the 1st of January next as a simple matter of official routine, it being the practice to make every Indian High Court Judge that officiates as a Chief Justice for however short a time a Knight, as compensation, I take it, for the disability of such judges to be a permanent Chief Justice. How I came into possession of the insignia of the Order is also worth chronicling. Later on, when I was on leave and was staying in my cottage on the Palani Hills, I was called upon to state when and how I wished to receive the insignia. I replied to the effect that it would be most convenient to me to get it through the post. This was apparently unacceptable to the official that had to dispose of the matter, and one morning the acting Collector of the District came in with his peon and unostentatiously handed me the little casket that contained them. I was thus saved undergoing the ordeal which now awaits most of the members of my order. Such are the facts of my Knighthood which it will so gladden the heart of the Editor of the "Mail" to see me deprived of.

I would respectfully suggest to him to devote the next article on the subject that he should therein formulate the process by which my desknighting should be carried out. A Darbar of course would be indispensable, as well as a mourning costume to be worn on such an occasion. The rest I humbly leave to the ingenious brain of the Editor, among whose many noble qualities refinement and courtesy, non-vindictiveness and Christian charity, are not the least prominent.

I believe the truth about these titles was never more tellingly expressed than in an incident described in a book on Sweden which I read long ago. When titles were first introduced in that country, two friends who had just

received them met and exchanged congratulations. Then one of them put to the other the question "Brother, is your shadow longer now?" The thoughtful silence which ensued furnishes the necessary answer.

One cannot help observing that among Western inventions, none operates more seductively and to the detriment of public interests than these titles. They will verily be a delusion and a snare to be sedulously avoided by every honest man, if by accepting them he is to be debarred from the legitimate exercise of his civic rights.

My Pension.

Next, if what the Secretary of State had in mind with reference to my position, was receipt of a pension by me, my answer is equally strong and clear. In the first place, the payment is made to me out of the revenues of the land of my birth and not from any foreign sources. In the next place, neither the original grant of it nor its continuance depended or depends on the good will and pleasure of any individual or any executive body. The right to the pension accrued under the authority of a statute of the Imperial Parliament, and none can deprive me of it save by legislation of that same Parliament.

It may not be out of place to add that in retiring on the partial pension which I receive now, I acted with a sense of duty that should protect me against taunts like those made in the columns of certain Anglo-Indian journals with special reference to my being a pensioner. For had I only thought of my own personal interest and continued to serve but eight months more, two of which would have been vacation time, I should be drawing the substantial sum of Rs. 5,000 per annum more than I do now. But I preferred to act otherwise lest the discharge of my duties as Judge even during that short period, should be in any way inefficient, and sent in my resignation notwithstanding the despatch of the then Secretary of State which entitled me to put in that additional service as a special case.

Lastly I say that I would more readily lose my pension than deprive myself, by reason of my continuing to draw it, of any right of my citizenship. And I say to writers in the Anglo Indian journals who throw taunts at me with reference to my pension, that I do not mind in the least if they could succeed, in depriving me of the wages which I am enjoying as the fruit of the most laborious and conscientious discharge of my duties as a Judge in the highest Court in the land, and leaving me to find my own food and raiment. Let them know that these I shall get from that association of Sannyasins with whom I stand related, which entitles me to their care and protection, and therefore no pretended humane sentiments need deter my detractors from depriving me of my life-provision by the State. Let me add that that association is not the Theosophical Society, the present President whereof has been atrociously libelled as receiving vile German gold.

SIR. J. D. REES.

Just a line by way of a postscript in reference to Sir John Rees' observation that my letter was a senile effusion. He reminds me of a felicitous remark of Sir Fitz James Stephen: "Artful liars tell probable falsehoods." Undoubtedly the Honourable Member's suggestion as to my alleged senility is an absolute falsehood, thought to be probable only because of my age. I venture to say

that my intellects was never more acute or clear, and in the suggestion to the contrary, there is as little truth as in the suggestion that Hon. Member's career in the House of Commons from its commencement down to this day was ever marked by sanity and good sense.

RENOUNCEMENT OF TITLES.

Subsequently Sir Subramaniya Aiyar wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Govt. renouncing his titles. He wrote ;—

After the contemptuous terms which so responsible a Minister of the Crown thought fit to use towards me from his place in the House of Commons it is impossible for me with any self-respect to continue to avail myself of the honour of being a title holder. I therefore feel compelled to renounce my title of K. C. I. E., and Dewan Bahadur. I have accordingly resolved not to receive any communications addressed to me in future with the prefix Sir, and affix K. C. I. E., or Dewan Bahadur and, hereby intimate such resolution to my correspondents."

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

MR. AND MRS. HENRY HOTCHNER IN INDIA.

Colonel Yate asked the Secretary of State for India : Who were the Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner who were described in the letter addressed by Sir Subramaniya Aiyer, K. C. I. E., to President Wilson as having graciously consented to leave their home in India in order to convey the letter to President Wilson personally in Washington ; what position Mr. and Mrs. Hotchner occupied in India ; of what nationality they were by birth ; whether they travelled from India to America on a British passport ; whether they were not engaged on propaganda work on behalf of the Home Rule for India League in America or elsewhere ; and whether they were to be permitted to return to India.

Mr. Montagu ; I understand that Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner are United States citizens by birth, who lived for some time at Adyar, in Madras, and co-operated in Mrs. Besant's theosophical work. They appear to be giving theosophical lectures in the United States. Mrs. Hotchner is said to be at the head of the American section of the Temple of the Rosy Cross or the Brotherhood of the Mystic Star. Presumably they travelled last year with a United States pass-port vised by the authorities in India. The question of allowing their return to India would be considered by the Indian Government, when they applied for a passport.

GERMAN PLOTS AND INDIA.

Sir J. D. Ross asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether he was aware that the trial of the German Indian conspirators concluded in May in San Francisco, clearly established the fact that the German consulate at that city instigated, aided, and abetted an Indian revolutionary movement in the United States and in many other parts of the world for the overthrow of the Government of India and the obstruction of Great Britain in the conduct of the war, and that proof was forthcoming at the trial of the payment of no less than £400,000 to one Bengali conspirator; and whether any statement would be made regarding the German plots in India on any occasion during the present Session.

Mr. Montagu : The statement of my hon. friend is substantially accurate, though I cannot vouch for the exact amount of the large sums of money undoubtedly paid by the German authorities in the hope of fomenting sedition in India. I will consider the question of making a statement if the House desires, but there are obvious difficulties in giving a comprehensive account of the matter.

REFORM PROPOSALS.

Col. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : Whether any steps were being taken to embody in draft Bill form the proposals for Indian reform, or if that stage must await Cabinet approval of the scheme in detail.

Mr. Montagu : Yes, sir ; the steps to which my hon. and gallant friend refers are now being taken.

Mr. Whyte : When does the right hon. gentleman propose to set up a Standing Committee of this House on Indian affairs?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot answer that question until the Government have decided what policy they will adopt.

Mr. Whyte : That is part of my right hon. friend's policy?

Mr. Montagu : It is a part of the policy which His Excellency the Viceroy and I recommend to his Majesty's Government.

Colonel Wedgwood : Will the right hon. gentleman say whether this draft Bill will or will not be finished within three months' time?

Mr. Montagu : I cannot say yet. My hon. friend will realise that it is a very complicated Bill to draw up, but it is being proceeded with as quickly as possible.

Mr. G. Terrell: May I ask whether the Bill for giving Home Rule to India is considered a war measure?

Mr. Montagu: I don't understand that. I am not drafting a Bill for Home Rule for India.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Viscount Midleton asked whether it was proposed to invite the House to discuss in any form the Indian proposals of Mr. Montagu before the adjournment.

Earl Curzon said he had not had an opportunity of consulting either the Secretary for India or Lord Islington, and he would hesitate to give a definite reply. So far as he knew, it was not in contemplation on the part of the Government to seek a discussion on this matter. He should have thought that it was not very urgent to have a discussion at this moment and that on the whole it would be better to wait and to see what reception the proposals met with in this country and in India.

DR. NAIR AND MR. TILAK.

Lord Lamington put a question to the Government as to whether there is any precedent for debarring an elector of this country who has committed no offence against the law from speaking in public, and whether they will not reconsider their decision prohibiting Dr. Nair from addressing public meetings or writing to the Press. His lordship said that the question was founded on a report which appeared in "The Times" on July 8. He had had no communication with Dr. Nair whom he had never seen. He understood Dr. Nair came to England for private reasons and for medical treatment, and when he arrived he was informed that he would not be allowed to address any meetings or publish any writings as to his views on Indian reform. Dr. Nair was known as the leader of the non-Brahman movement in South India, and as the editor of "Justice." In view of the stoppage of the Home Rule deputation, he was informed on reaching this country that he must give an undertaking not to address public meetings or write to the Press. It was unfortunate that he should be debarred from expressing his views in admiration of our rule in India.

Lord Sydenham spoke of Dr. Nair as a loyal Indian moderate.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary for India, detailed the circumstances under which Mr. Tilak was allowed to proceed to England in connection with his libel suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. A

condition was imposed that he should confine himself to that case, and not express any views on Home Rule in India. Dr. Nair, who was stated to have announced publicly his intention of coming to England to combat the views of Mr. Tilak, in the event of Mr. Tilak holding meetings here in favour of Home Rule, actually came for the purpose of receiving medical advice after being granted an unconditional passport by the Government of Madras. On grounds of justice and fair play, he was, on landing here, asked by the Secretary for India to sign an undertaking to observe the same reticence as had been imposed on Mr. Tilak. This course had the Prime Minister's approval. Lord Islington proceeded to examine three alternative courses of which the Government had had the choice, and contended that though the line of action taken might be open to criticism, it was that which for the time being and in the present juncture presented the least objection.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—Wednesday July 17.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

Mr. Denman asked the Prime Minister: Whether having regard to the fact that each month's delay in granting constitutional reforms to India added to the difficulties of granting them and diminished their value when granted, he would allow an early discussion of the Secretary of State's Report.

Mr. Bonar Law: I cannot add anything on this subject to the answer I gave on the 10th instant to the hon. Baronet the Member for West Denbigshire.

Mr. Denman: Does not the right hon. Gentleman recognise that the continued neglect by this House of Indian subjects has a very bad effect in India, and while it is recognised that the Government can give no immediate reply, would not a Debate in this House give valuable ventilation to the whole subject?

Mr. Bonar Law: I think it is a matter of opinion. In the first place time is very limited and I do not wish to give up time unless it is necessary. Then the subject is really a very complicated one and one must have time to study the documents.

Mr. C. Roberts: Does that answer cover the case of a Debate on the Indian Budget and does the right hon. Gentleman wish to convey the impression that he desires to shelve this Report and the urgent questions connected with it?

Mr. Bonar Law : I hope my answer did not convey that impression. It was certainly not what I intended. Everyone recognises the importance of this subject. I have myself tried to look at this Report, but I could not attempt to deal with it now. I think the same thing is true of all the members of the Government and I fancy it would be true of most Members of the House of Commons.

Sir H. Craik : Is it not absolutely necessary to receive opinions from all parts of India, which must take some time to reach this country ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really do not think there need be much discussion in question and answer on this subject. I have already said if I found there was a general desire in the House to have it discussed I would find time. As a matter of fact I think nothing would be gained by discussing it before the Recess.

Mr. Roberts : Has not the right hon. Gentleman already received a formal request for a discussion on the Indian Budget and has it been granted ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I do not think I have received such notice.

Mr. Pringle : Has the official Opposition asked for a day ?

Mr. Guiland : I made a representation to the Noble Lord (Lord E. Talbot) asking for a day.

Mr. Bonar Law : I have no doubt what the hon. Gentleman says is true. Very likely it came to me, but I have forgotten it if it is so. It is a question of time.

Mr. Roberts : Is it not really neglecting India that we cannot spare a single day ?

Mr. Bonar Law : I really think to make that suggestion is itself to do the evil which the hon. Gentleman wishes to avoid. There is no such feeling in any part of the House. It is a question of the general arrangement of the business of the House.

H. of Commons—Monday July 22.

ARMY COMMISSION TO INDIANS.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India : what were now the regulations as to Indian citizens obtaining the King's commission in the Indian Army.

Mr. Montagu : The King's Commission will be granted to Indians under four categories :

(1) A certain number of substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's commissions conferring honorary rank in the Indian Army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present War, and who, owing to age or lack of educational qualifications, are not eligible for substantive King's commissions. Such honorary commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the Army.

(4) A certain number of King's commissions to Indians on qualifying as cadets at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. For this purpose ten Indian gentlemen will be nominated annually during the War for cadetships.

Colonel Wedgwood : Does that answer mean that Indian students in this country will be able to get temporary commissions, or will they be debarred unless they go to Sandhurst—under the third head ?

Mr. Montagu : Under the third head they will be nominated in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Even if they have obtained the qualifications in this country by being at Oxford or Cambridge they will be eligible for commissions ?

Mr. Montagu : No commissions will be given without adequate training.

Mr. C. Roberts : Is there any provision for the military training of these officers, or candidates for that rank, in India as well as in England ?

Mr. Montagu : Yes, Sir. No substantive commissions will be granted to anybody without adequate training. It is intended to provide that adequate training under Category 3 in India.

Colonel Wedgwood : Is it impossible for Indians to get into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : I would rather not go into the details of the Regulations in answer to questions because I have not them before

me, but I will lay the Regulations in due course upon the Table of the House.

Colonel Wedgwood : Then we may take it that this decision is a victory for those who consider that Indians are not fit to go into officers' training schools in this country ?

Mr. Montagu : No, I think the answer I have given shows that commissions are going to be given to efficient soldiers subject to His Majesty's approval.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

In reply to Lord Sydenham regarding the grant of Commissions to Indians, **Lord Islington said**—The scheme which was already published marked the close of a long-standing controversy. Successive Secretaries of State, Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, besides many statesmen and distinguished military Officers, now urged trying the experiment. A united Indian people also favoured it. The Commander-in-Chief fully appreciated the delicacy of some of the issues involved, and the importance was not overlooked of ensuring that there should be no falling-off in the quality and quantity of British Officers in the Indian Army. It was not intended to grant an Indian a Commission merely because he was an Indian but only when he had earned it, as in the case of British Officers, by proving himself fit and qualified to occupy the position. The war had unquestionably proved that there were many Indians available who fully fulfilled those fundamental conditions ; and now in opening the door to Commissioned ranks gradually, there would be no ground for any apprehension. He hoped that British Officers entering the Indian Army would realise that this fresh departure in no way lessened the need for continued effort to do their utmost to maintain the high traditions of the Indian Army and would follow a career not less honourable because henceforth it would embrace comradeship with Indian fellow-subjects. He hoped that this measure would be regarded as the first step in the inevitable advance, which would more and more bring Indian and British fellow-subjects to a proper and natural relationship as comrades in arms, engaged in the common cause of the defence of India and the maintenance of the security of the British Empire.

In course of his speech, Lord Islington mentioned that three candidates recommended for temporary Commissions had served in the ranks in British regiments in France. One of them was a grandson of the late Dadabhoi Naoroji.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday August 6, 1918.

MR. MONTAGU'S BUDGET SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu, in moving that the House go into Committee on the East India Revenue accounts, reminded the House that the one outstanding feature of last year's finance was India's contribution of Rs. 100,000,000 towards the cost of the war. The intention was to raise as much as possible of that loan in India and to liquidate the balance by the Government of India taking over the required amount of the British war debt, meeting the interest thereupon, and gradually discharging the principal. The response to the loan raised in India far exceeded any anticipation. The estimate of a loan under previous circumstances was something like £4,000,000. The loan last year realised £35,000,000, which was in due course transferred to the Imperial Government; and at a later date in the same year the Government of India succeeded in raising for its own needs Rs. 30,000,000 in the form of Treasury Bills for the purpose of financing war expenditure in India. The applications for War Loan from all classes were most satisfactory, and large subscriptions were obtained not only in British India, but in the Native States also. It was hardly necessary to remind the House of the poverty of the people of India, of the undeveloped condition of its natural resources, and that contributions to loans of this kind could only be made, not by denying luxuries, but by severely restricting expenditure on such vital necessities, as education, sanitation, and the development of industries. This year a new War Loan had been issued, the proceeds of which also would be paid to the Imperial Government. The estimated yield was £20,000,000. Already, some weeks ago £16,500,000 had been realised, and therefore, it was obvious that of the £100,000,000, promised, well over £50,000,000 had already been raised in India itself. Everybody would agree that this was a very remarkable result.

India and the War.

In 1917 1,383,000 tons of wheat were exported by the Government of India for the needs of Great Britain and her Allies. Special measures were taken last autumn to increase the wheat area, and 44,688,000 acres of wheat were planted; but he feared that the esti-

mated exportable surplus would not be reached, because the monsoon for the first time for many years, was not progressing favourably. Two hundred million lb. of tea were exported last year, and arrangements had been made to export 250,000,000 lb. this season. Thirty one million pounds worth of jute and jute goods were exported for war purposes, £2,250,000 worth of wool, large quantities of Army blankets, and the tanned hides needed for the uppers of 60 per cent of the boots manufactured in this country were provided from India. Indian troops had played, and were playing, by far the larger part in Mesopotamia, Palestine and East Africa and at the beginning of the war they played a very large part in France. This had been possible solely by the increase in the number of recruits. Before 1914 the annual intake of recruits for non-combatant purposes was about 15,000. Last year the figure exceeded 285,000, and reckoning non-combatants, 440,000. This year it was proposed to raise 500,000 combatants, besides a large number of non-combatants, and those responsible for recruiting had no doubt that India would obtain the men necessary to complete the new establishment which had been sanctioned by the War Office. The recruiting figures for June reached the record figure of 50,000 and it was remarkable that Provinces from which recruits had never come before—races which had never yet shown martial instincts, or only to a small degree—were providing their contribution to those numbers. The new recruits were not being asked to come to the war only as privates. They were to have an opportunity, comparable to the opportunity given to every other soldier raised for combatant purposes for the British Empire, of securing His Majesty's Commission.

It had been stated in the house the other day that the military members of the Army Council differed from the policy of the Government of India and of the Cabinet on the subject of Commissions in the Army. Without entering into controversy, he would say that if they asked a man to fight in this war—in this war above all other wars—then, surely, he should be given every opportunity of winning by gallantry any position in the Army, whatever his race. It was said sometimes that it was an intolerable thing to risk British soldiers being commanded by Indian officers. Those racial considerations were, wholly out of date. When Indians were eligible for the highest positions in their own country in civilian life, when Indian officers commanded large hospitals in Mesopotamia at this moment, it was idle to say that racial considerations should continue to debar Indians from becoming officers in His Majesty's Army. That controversy, which had extended through many years, was,

at last settled with the approval of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

Indian effort in Mesopotamia.

In regard to Indian effort in Mesopotamia, the railways which conveyed our troops in both Mesopotamia and Palestine had been largely constructed from materials supplied by the Indian railways, and were worked mainly by Indian labour. Seventeen hundred miles of track, 200 engines, and nearly 6,000 vehicles had been provided by India for the various theatres of war. The river flotilla on the Tigris and the Euphrates was composed mainly of vessels drawn from Indian rivers. The plant which now lit Basra and Bagdad was nearly all drawn from India, and was worked by Indian officers. With the help of expert advice, modern irrigation, and up-to-date agricultural machinery, a very large proportion of which came from India, the former fertility of Mesopotamia was being gradually revived. Those resources provided by India were gradually changing the appearance of the country, and eradicating the blight of Turkish misrule.

The Reforms—its Responsibility

The principles of the reforms which they had recommended were the logical and inevitable outcome of over a hundred years of Indian history. The demand for Indian Self-Government had been quickened by the war. A statement of our own ideals from our own Ministers and Allied ministers, the natural searching of men's hopes and aspirations for a better time to come, had added their impetus, and made an irresistible appeal for some further step in the development of self-government. The determination of the Government to do something more started in the time of Lord Hardinge. He (Mr. Montagu) inherited the situation from Mr. A. Chamberlain. It had been said that the whole movement was his conspiracy, and that he had led an unwilling and unfortunate Viceroy. That was a travesty of the facts. Lord Chelmsford and he were together responsible for their policy. They had both walked together, and neither was unwillingly harnessed to the other. Reading the announcement of Government policy made on August 20 last, he said that that was their terms of reference; it was the principle to which the Government stood committed. The House might, if it wished, tear up the specific proposals of the Report he had referred to, but they could not, without the grossest breach of faith, depart

from the announcement of August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they did not want responsible government for India then they were denying the principle enunciated on August 20. If they criticised the scheme because they wanted to do it at once and to have a stereotyped timetable taking it out of the hands of Parliament and the responsible Government, then also they were denying the principle of August 20. He could not conceive that there could have been any other answer to the history of India than that given in the Government proposals.

He said that if the idea was that the Indian Government was to be one of subordination and subjection, then Lord Morley's reform and the grant of high office to Indians, the actual inclusion of Indians in the Imperial War Cabinet itself, were all out of harmony with the announcement of August 20. They could not devote centuries to the tilling of the soil and then refuse to plant the tree. If they were going to institute responsible government in India, the first thing they must do was to give the people the vote and to exercise them in the use of the vote. They could not instil the customs, habits, restraints and conventions upon which representative institutions depended until they gave people the vote and the people used it. Nor could they teach people to use the vote wisely if the vote was to achieve nothing. They must give to the person voted for something to do, so that he could be trained in administration, and so that the person who possessed the vote would think it worth while to give it. Therefore, since they wanted responsible institutions in India, they ought to give the vote to the people on as broad a franchise as possible, and at the same time they must give the representatives elected by those votes real and responsible work to do.

House of Commons and India.

This is the rough outline of the scheme proposed. It was suggested that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the Votes of the House of Commons. There was nothing very novel in that—it was an old proposal—and nothing very revolutionary. It was proposed simply for the reason that the authors of the scheme desired that the control over Indian affairs, exercised by the Secretary of State, which could only be exercised in the name of this House, should be brought into proper relation to the House itself. He was not now talking of the financial unfairness which saddled the cost of his salary on the Indian taxpayer. Every other Minister's salary, with the sole exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was borne on the Votes

of this House and paid by the British taxpayer. He hoped he should not be considered lacking in respect to the House when he said that Indian debates suffered from their unreality. It was therefore also proposed that there should be appointed at the beginning of every Session a Select Committee of the House of Commons which should report to the House of Commons on Indian affairs for the past year before the debate took place on the salary of the Secretary of State for India. He pleaded for the acceptance of that reform. The experience of members who had lived in India was invaluable, particularly when they remembered that it was possible that conditions might have changed since they left the country. If there were in the House a body of members willing to devote themselves from Session to Session to the affairs of India, thus becoming acquainted with the broad outlines of its administration and its problems, India would gain by that real, sustained, and up-to-date Parliamentary interest, and Parliament would be able with less effort to devote itself to its great Indian responsibilities. It had been said in answer to this suggestion that it would bring India into party affairs. He could not in the least understand that argument. It seemed to him that nothing was more likely to keep India out of party affairs than to have a Select Committee for considering Indian matters drawn from all parties in the House.

Indian Legislatures.

It had often been complained that the Secretary of State interfered too much in Indian affairs. On the other hand, it had often been complained that he did not interfere enough. The Secretary of State interfered in the name of Parliament, and he and Parliament were trustees for the Indian people and as responsible Government in India grew, it followed that the control from home must be relaxed. He had been criticised for saying that. But was there any reason to fear it? Had not the history of our Empire throughout shown that control from home had gradually, or suddenly in some cases, been replaced by control on the spot, by the people of the country themselves? Had it ever weakened the Imperial connexion? Had it not been the source of the Empire's strength? Then as to the Government of India itself it was suggested that the Government of India was not a suitable sphere in which to start the first step towards responsible government, and that for the present, until it was seen how responsible institutions were growing in India, it was desirable to keep the

Government of India responsible to Parliament and to Parliament alone. So it was proposed to maintain the powers of the Government of India. But they could not, he submitted, leave things as they were in the Government of India. They could not call a Legislative Council, which contained only 27 elected members, a sufficiently representative body to constitute a Legislative Council for India suitable to the present day. Thirty seven members was not enough; they must enlarge it in order to make it more representative. Since it was suggested that the council should be enlarged, and since it was suggested that the Government was to enforce its will when it wished, it seemed to him that they were inevitably led to the consideration of a Second Chamber. That was the proposal contained in the report. The advantage of this machinery seemed to him to be that it did make the Legislative Council far more representative than it was at the present time, and it did ensure representative criticisms in Delhi and Simla, and that it could easily be developed from time to time into the ordinary bicameral legislative machinery. It was suggested that there should be another body composed of the Princes of the Native States. It seemed to him that if they had this germ of a Second Chamber they also indicated a way by which in due course the Princes, now rather isolated in the Constitution, might join for joint deliberation of common affairs, and only for common affairs, with the Upper House.

The Provinces.

It was in the provinces that they suggested the first steps towards responsible government should be taken. This would enable them to differentiate between province and province according to their readiness for responsibility. In dealing with the provinces they had only three choices. They could go on as they were with an Executive Government wholly responsible to the electorate, but that was not a step towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. Or they could have complete responsible government in the provinces. He believed they would hardly find a single instance of a province which was ready today for complete responsible government. Therefore there was only one other alternative left, and that was responsibility in some subjects and the reservation of others. That was the system which they ventured to submit to public opinion for criticism. They could transfer more subjects in one province than they could in another, and they could, as time went on, increase the number of transferred subjects—and he had little

doubt it would go faster than many people supposed—until they got to the time when there were no subjects to transfer and all had been transferred. Then they would get full responsible government in the provinces. That was the principle of the provincial proposals.

The one provision to which both Lord Chelmsford and he attached great importance was the periodic review of the working of the whole scheme by a tribunal appointed by this House every ten or twelve years. It would be the authority working in the name of Parliament which would decide upon the increase in the number of transferred subjects. The knowledge that this review was destined to come at stated intervals would make for the smooth working of the machine. The official and the non-official elements would all realise that they could take their grievances for remedy to the High Court of Parliament itself at stated intervals, and he believed this necessary transitional machinery could only work if there was this periodical review.

Reply to Criticism.

At every stage of the whole proceedings his colleagues and he had almost daily discussions on all the recommendations that were made to them by public and private individuals. Not only that, but at each stage those who came from England sat in informal conference with the whole Government of India, and there were constant sub-committees of two sets of people to consider the details. Besides that they received innumerable deputations and had innumerable and long interviews from early morn till late at night with anyone who had anything to contribute. There had been a suggestion that this work should be done all over again by another Committee. He did not think that that was possible. He did not believe they would ever be able to convince the Indian people that they (the House) were in earnest if they adopted such a proposal as that, but both Lord Chelmsford and he were absolutely sincere when they asked that the Government should publish this Report for criticism. It was not a finished document which they sought to translate unaltered into an Act of Parliament. It must be sifted and tested. Did it carry out the principles which it professed? For example, they had stated their objections to communal representation. He did not go back one single hair's breadth from what had been said on that point. If they wanted to build up community of interests, to get over racial antagonism and antipathies, surely the worst way to begin was to send people to different polling

booths; making them into different constituencies for returning their representatives. They had also been accused of trying to divide the people of India in order to rule. If they established communal representation on a large scale there would be some justice in that criticism. The whole success of the scheme depended upon getting an electorate thoroughly representative of all the peoples of India. The report itself said that it was not, and ought not to be, their aim to hand over the Government of India, or any part of the Government of India, to the representatives of any particular section. They wanted an electorate as representative as possible. And for that reason, although they recognised right through that it was upon the development of a successful electorate that the whole scheme depended, the scheme would not be complete until that electorate had been devised. It was recommended that two committees should be appointed at once to consider the electorate and the differentiation between the reserved and transferred subjects, and also what should be the Government of India's concern and what should be Provincial. Until those Committees had reported the scheme was not complete and therefore, in order to complete the scheme, His Majesty's Government had assented to the immediate appointment of those committees to recommend to them what electorate was possible. Those who thought that communal representation was the only way to obtain a representation of all the peoples of India would have an opportunity of arguing that as an open question before the Committee which would sit in India. He should regret very much if it was proved that that was the only way. He felt convinced that the way to beat your enemy at the poll was to fight him and not to ask for special representation of this sort. It seemed to him that if responsibility for certain subjects was transferred to Indian Ministers we must ensure that we had given them the machinery which would enable them to discharge their responsibility. Similarly, if responsibility for other subjects was reserved to the existing Executive Council, we must ensure that we had given them the necessary machinery to discharge their responsibility. He thought the report did this by means of Councils of States and Grand Committees. He invited the assistance of every one who would accept the announcement of August 20, and who would offer not destructive but constructive criticism. He did not think it was necessary to be argued that the Indians who were anxious to embark upon this experiment were imbued with a patriotism and a love of their country which he did not think had ever been equalled in the history of the world, a patriotism which was almost a religion, and which was becoming slowly a national patriotism.

India, the defence of India, the working for India, pride in India—these were all emotions which animated those who accepted the announcement of August 20. There were some who did not accept it, not because they did not believe in eventual responsible Government, but because they did not like the progressive stages proposed.

Nature of the Limitations.

All the limitations which were to be found in the scheme were limitations not of distrust or fear but of facts and of time. It was useless to expect that Parliament, proud of the India that Englishmen had done so much to make, were going to give up the control of Indian affairs to an Indian electorate which did not exist. It was impossible to pretend that all the disabilities and obstacles to democratic progress which were presented by illiteracy, by caste distinction, by communal antagonism, did not exist. They did. They were only pointed out by the true friends of India because they believed that with the development of free institutions they would tend to disappear. He did not mean for one moment that caste would disappear, but the features of caste which made it impossible to regard India as a democratic nation might, with the flow of time, disappear. As these antagonisms between communities disappeared, and as education spread, the reasons for the limitations would disappear with them, and India would have a right to claim from the House through these periodical reviews that the limitations imposing these conditions should be swept away. We must create, train and exercise an electorate before these things could happen. Therefore it seemed to him that people had no right to reject this proposal because it did not give them to-day things which could only be got to-morrow. What they were entitled to ask was that they should be placed upon the road and that they should have access to Parliament at stated intervals for the hearing of their case. It seemed to him that there was no other course. Agitation could produce chaos and revolution and that was one way of proceeding. But these things had always imperiled liberty and retarded progress, and they had always caused misery untold and hardships unfathomed to those who had lived through epochs of that kind. If we were to set out to build a free, self-governing, responsible India under the aegis of the British flag, and as an integral part of the British Empire, with fixity of purpose and determination, it seemed to him that we should do well to start now. We are piling up work for ourselves after the war. Ought not we to do what we could to-day? Was there a better time for doing this work than now, when we were face to face with the re-

cord of India's share in the war, when we were able to point on the one hand by looking at the lack of ideals that have made Germany the enemy of mankind, and on the other hand, by looking on those unhappy events which had made Russia the object of all men's compassion?

INDIAN BUDGET DEBATE.

Speech of Mr. Charles Roberts.

The following is taken from the speech of Mr. Roberts on the occasion of the Indian Budget debate.

The debate had revealed so far a singular unanimity. There might be reservations, and there might be slight criticisms, but one had the satisfaction of seeing that Sir J. D. Rees agreed with Mr. Cotton. And yet the amount of unanimity which had prevailed might perhaps give a wrong impression, for he could not but remember that his right hon. friend had not at the present time his Government behind his proposal. To-day he made a very welcome announcement. He said he was prepared to take a very notable step in setting up two committees. He (Mr. Roberts) did not want to press that unduly, but it clearly did commit not only himself, but the Government of which he was a member, to further steps along this road. He did not suppose it would be fair to assume that they had done more than accept the Report on its general principle. He hoped that might be so. At all events, they had not rejected it as being inconsistent with their declaration in August last, and the fact that they wished to see it worked out and proceeded with was an omen of their intentions of which they should take note. He did not wish at this present stage to put inconvenient questions. They were told by the Leader of the House that the pressure of business had been too great for the Government yet to make up their minds. One understood their preoccupation, but at the present moment they remain of course bound by their declaration of August last year, and after the holidays it would be their duty to press them a little further about that declaration, for as his right hon. friend made it clear, that declaration did commit them to taking substantial steps as soon as possible, and if those substantial steps were not the acceptance of his right hon. friend's report, then they would have to ask what were the substantial steps which they were going to take? The words, "as soon as possible", were also words they could not forget.

They certainly did not mean the latest possible date, and although they gave a reasonable time, yet this was one of those matters to which the story of the Books of Sibyl was applicable. He admitted the scheme is difficult to grasp as a whole. It was not merely that the details were somewhat complicated. They were novel expedients in the art of government perhaps, but it was a balanced scheme, and different speakers had already laid stress upon different parts of it. Sir J. D. Rees was satisfied with the safeguards. He found that there were satisfactory assurances for the maintenance of British power, and he himself thought there were safeguards in the scheme. But the existence of those safeguards did not prevent this measure in reality from marking a great transition from a bureaucratic and autocratic system of government to the popular government on which the Government of India will have to rest in the future.

First stages of responsibility.

It began the first stages of the responsibility of Indian Ministers to an enlarged Indian electorate, and it provided statutory machinery for extending that measure of responsibility at recurring intervals. It did give to the Indians a place consistent with their own self-respect in an ultimately self-governing India which would form an integral part of the Empire. They would be in the future no longer mere passive subjects of Imperial rule, but conscious partners in an Empire which, in spite of differences of race, creed, and language, existed for ideals of freedom and civilisation which appealed to Englishmen just as much as to Indians.

There had been a great deal of agreement as to principles expressed in the discussion up to date. And yet the reluctance of the Government to commit itself to the principles of the Report at the present time joined with hostile voices that had not only found expression in that House, but had also found expression in the Press, were a real danger signal to impatient idealists who, whether in this country or in India, were not content with the rate of progress which was being proposed. It was always a mistake, in judging of reforms, to measure them by a standard of theoretic but unattainable perfection. It was rather wiser to consider whether in practice they did represent substantial improvements on the existing state of things, and he defied anyone of honest purpose, who would take the trouble to grasp the scheme in its general principles and in its details, to fail to see that, in spite

of the safeguards which were provided, it did give a very substantial and marked advance of self-government in India. He said this because he noticed a letter in a leading journal within the last few days which, on behalf of unofficial Indians in this country, complained that though they did not wish the Report rejected, yet it gave little or nothing of real value to them. It was very difficult to summarise. He admitted it did provide—and rightly provided—during a great transition, during the evolution of popular government, power to maintain law and order. It left the Government free with full power to discharge its Imperial responsibilities. But if they look—he would not say to changes in relation to the Secretary of State, to Parliament, or to the Indian Parliament—but taking the actual changes in India, it was impossible to say that there were not substantial improvements from the standpoint of any one who wished to see self-government carried into effect or to see India marching upon the road to self-government.

Stages in the scheme.

The stages in the scheme towards self-government in India were popular control over local government (in districts and towns); the extension or rather creation of electorates, mainly on a direct territorial basis ; a largely increased measure of autonomy for the provinces, as distinct from the Government of India ; the institution of Executive Councils in four additional provinces, the placing of an Indian member on those Councils in all the eight provinces concerned ; the enlargement of provincial councils, the increase of the elective majority, and their control of certain departments to be transferred to them ; the establishment of Indian Ministers, who could, together with the Executive Council, form part of the provincial government and would have to administer the transferred departments ; the accountability of these Indian Ministers primarily for the first five years to their constituencies, and thereafter their full responsibility to the provincial councils ; the separation of all India and Provincial finance, and a much freer hand to the Indian Ministers and to the Provincial Council to propose and carry new taxation and to raise loans ; in the sphere of the Government of India the addition of a second Indian member to the Viceroy's Executive Council of six, and the enlargement of the Viceroy's Legislative Council with a view to making it more representative of Indian opinion ; and the institution of a statutory machinery for the enlargement of this measure of self-government at recurring intervals. He could not understand anyone who

wished to take an honest view of this subject, not realising that it did mark a very substantial advance. But his right hon. friend said that he was prepared to vary details. It was not quite clear whether that might not open a somewhat dangerous prospect. Certainly none of these details was regarded as having any special sacrosanctity. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, for instance, thought there was too great complexity. He did not think he would find it, if he gave his mind to it, very easy to frame a simple system to carry out the declaration of August last. Full responsible government was not a very simple form of government if they try to set out on paper all the unwritten conventions and understandings on which it rested. Bureaucratic and responsible government they knew, but the hybrid between the two—a transitional form of government, which was to be neither the one nor the other, but to lead from one to the other—could not be very simple, and he thought his hon. friend tried to solve this riddle by arguing that it would be very much more simple to have the Cabinet system with which they were familiar in this country. That, of course, was going far beyond the limits to which that House was prepared to proceed.

He had a very honest and sincere desire to see this great adventure of instituting self-government in India succeed. He believed it was possible. He did not see any reason why the Indians should not succeed in this task, on one condition—that they would give themselves the necessary training time to master what was involved in learning the practical art of self-government. Given that, he saw no reason why they should not succeed, just as did our Allies the Japanese, who also had no historical basis for the Western institutions, which they had been able to blend with their own traditional principles of government in a way which had produced marked success, and led to the greatness of their country. He would like those who might be impatient, who might wish to see a greater rate of progress than his right hon. friend was prepared to admit, to be warned that there might be dangers which they would have to face in carrying their point, and that unanimity in that House at the present stage did not get them over their difficulties. They would find that this scheme—or some thing like it—was, under present conditions here and now, really the limit of what was attainable. He did not see conditions in the immediate future which would enable them to obtain a greater measure of reform. He was of course not forgetting the recurring intervals at which the present proposals for reform might be increased by means of the Statutory Commission. It would be wise for those who had the

difficult task of judging how much it was well for them to ask to remember that if they wanted reforms they could only get them by purdient and energetic concentration upon them, and that those who had not the statesmanship to accept a good offer when it was made generally paid the penalty by many weary years of waiting in an arid and possibly storm-swept wilderness.

Several other Members also spoke, of whome—

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald declared that the Secretary of State's Council should be abolished. There could be no satisfactory system of representation for India under the present system of education and unless agriculturists and workmen had their share. The Civil Service should be given a task commensurate with their great political capacity.

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored—Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as *Mr. Tilak* and *Mrs Besant* showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

Mr. Cotton wholeheartedly supported the Report. He urged action now.

Captain Lloyd suggested the setting up of a Parliamentary Committee to examine the proposals.

Mr. Chamberlain commended the very satisfactory character of the debate and said the Cabinet had not had time to arrive at a detailed conclusion regarding the Report. The Committees mentioned by *Mr. Montagu* would be appointed and would proceed to India as soon as possible to deal with the questions which were essential to the drafting of the Bill. There need be no apprehension that the Government would go back in letter or in spirit from the declaration of August 20th. He did not pretend that the immediate result of the changes contemplated would be to increase the efficiency of Government of India. Progress in India must be through mistakes.

Commander Wedgwood declared that the Report was based on a genuine desire to see India become a nation. He was glad that the House had unanimously received the proposals as the right thing to do.

Mr. Denman regretted that no progress was possible until the Committee reported and suggested that the main fabric of the structure should be set up and the details filled in by an Order in Council.

In winding up the debate *Mr. Montagu* said that the wholehearted acceptance by all speakers of the principle of Self-Government for India was a remarkable fact in the history of the House and India. He did not see how it would be possible to introduce legislation this year owing to the necessity for giving an ample time for discussion and the difficulty of drafting the Bill. He hoped that the reports of the two committees to be appointed would be received early next year. He emphasised that the Government though it could not hurry, would not pause in carrying out the policy contained in the announcement of August 20th.

House of Lords—August 6, 1918.

Debate in the House of Lords.

Lord Sydenham drew attention to the report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on Indian reforms, and moved for papers. It was most unfortunate that before the present Secretary of State assumed office he made some caustic and not very well-informed criticism of our rule in India, and the result was that his official declaration was quite naturally coupled with his previous unofficial utterances. This has aroused the most exaggerated expectations throughout India. He could not help thinking that the visit of the Secretary of State to India at a time when this country was fighting for its life was a real misfortune. It had the effect of stimulating throughout India a very dangerous agitation, and incidentally of lowering the high office of the Viceroy in the eyes of the Indian population. He also regarded the manner of the presentation of the report as somewhat irregular.

He warmly welcomed some parts of the report. The reconstruction of the India Office was long overdue, and any proposal in that direction should be carried out at once. He believed that to give a federal form of Government to India was essential to the self-government of India. The arrangement of electorates and seats and the reconsideration of the franchise in certain cases were the most important and necessary steps and ought to be taken at once. He was sorry to see that the report ignored protests and warnings

from many parts of India, which deserved consideration. Surely the report might have devoted at least one paragraph to the working classes of India, who represented the majority of the people of India. As far as he could see a quarter of a million of people wished to rule the millions of India. Was that democracy? The report said that the war had accelerated the demand for Home Rule. That was so, *because the little band of Home Rulers had through German influence tried to raise trouble in India.* It was difficult for the people of this country to follow the events in India owing to the meagreness of news due in a large measure to the war. The moral seemed to him to be this that owing to the weakness of Government in recent years in India, the margin of safety was now very small. There never was a time when it was more necessary to carefully scrutinize any proposed changes of Government. The scheme set up a system which would have the effect of destroying the present high standard of the Indian Civil Service. If that deteriorated he did not see what we should have left to keep our hold on the affections and respect of the masses of India. He believed the position of Governor would become quite intolerable, and that no man who understood the situation would accept the office. The general effect of this very complicated scheme must be a long delay in public business, frequent conflicts between the two Houses, and a weakening of the high position of the Viceroy. There would be enormous opportunities opened out for intrigues. In his view of the Report under it the authority of the British Government would be weakened all over India at a time when that authority was more than ever needed. Have we any right to force on India a form of democracy which the greatest democracy in the world would not tolerate?

It Would Cause Chaos.

The main fault he found with the whole of the Report was that it ignored the genius of the Indian people and was mainly a *concession to a denationalized intelligensia.* Mr. Tilak had said of this scheme that "it was entirely unacceptable and would not satisfy anybody." These proposed reforms would be *abhorrent to the gallant Indian soldiers* who had fought in this war when they came home and yet it was on the achievements of these fighting men that the intelligensia based their claim to rule. He firmly believed that these proposals would cause chaos. The Report contained some admirable sentiments which might divert attention from some of its bangers. Excellent advice was given to every class in India. The pity was that it would never reach those classes and would not have the

slightest effect if it did. The authors of the Report could not have realized the chasm which separated the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Brahmin and others, a chasm which was formed hundreds of years ago and was still deep. They believed that representative institutions would tend to soften the rigidity of the caste system; but that system went back a thousand years and had been intensified in our own day. The castastrophic possibilities of this contention among a population of 315 millions did not seem to have occurred to the authors of the Report. Russia was now giving a most appalling object lesson as the result of the break-up of centralised authority, and the effect of the weakening or destruction of British rule in India must be even more disastrous, because the antagonisms—social, religious, and racial—were far deeper. It was only the authority of the British rule which now stood between the people of India and the welter of bloodstained crime caused by the break-up of the Mogul Empire. The difference between Russia and India to-day was British rule and nothing else. He hoped the Government would hand the Report over to some competent examining body. He moved for the following papers:—(1) The opinions of the local Governments on Indian Reform; (2) a selection of addresses—giving opinion on both sides—to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State; (3) the Report of Mr. Justice Rowlatt on Sedition in India.

Lord Carmichael said whether we liked it or not, the demand for political reforms and for self-government would go on in India, and whether we liked it or not, there would be political changes, and he had no hesitation in saying that the changes would be in the direction of self-Government. In his opinion India was not fit at this moment for self-government but many Indians were fit for it, and we should do right if we did our best to make all Indians fit for it. India was not like this country before the first Reform Bill, nor like our Colonies were before we gave them self-government. Many difficulties lay before us, but it was something to know that in facing them we were all agreed that the path of progress was to be in one direction. We were pledged to start in that direction as soon as possible. There could be no swerving from the path which led to responsible Government. But it seemed to him that first they wanted to know what the scheme of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy was. Until they knew that in greater detail they ought surely to refrain both from condemning or approving it. Indians generally were of opinion that a solemn declaration made on behalf of the Government was meant to be acted upon. If we rejected the scheme which was a fair presentment of the Indian view, without putting forward arguments

which the people of India would understand, what would be the result? It would be said that we had flouted the Viceroy, the Secretary of State, and the Leader of the House. Many Indians would consider that we had committed as bad a breach of faith as any Government had ever been guilty of.

The Marquiss of Crewe said that he listened to the speech of Lord Sydenham with some feeling of depression. The noble Lord seemed to view the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in a spirit of almost unrelieved gloom although he admitted there were passages in it which he regarded with sympathy. His lordship had remarked that the Report involved a departure from the principles which were laid down by Lord Morley in 1909. It appeared to him unjust criticism to say that the Morley-Minto reforms introduced nine years ago had failed. The circumstances had been altered by this world cataclysm in a manner no human being could foresee. Lord Sydenham had made various polite references to the advance towards self-government in India but he had not indicated in terms any plans by which he desired to move in that direction. He was prepared to run the risk of attempting some freedom of provincial government in certain circumstances. He was prepared to allow people to make their own mistakes to some extent, provided that these mistakes were not made on a scale or at a cost which would be serious to the people of India as a whole. He did not deny that there might be a sacrifice of efficiency and some cost. That might be the penalty which had to be paid for entrusting people with the management of their own affairs. He thought that Lord Sydenham took too gloomy a view when he foreshadowed something like a permanent hostility to the Government on the part of the Legislature with its elective majorities. He had always rather dreaded the principle of veto. The veto was a weapon which could rarely be used, if it could be used at all. No doubt it could be used more in India than in Australia or South Africa. But it was a weapon which became blunted by use. The Report was undoubtedly complicated in appearance, but he thought that those who studied the various alternatives would begin to favour it more the more they went on. It was no doubt in one sense a leap in the dark, as all great propositions for reform must be. And he could well understand any man who loved India, and who knew what India owed to the British Crown, asking himself whether if the main lines of the Report were followed, we should be travelling on a road which led towards the separation of that connexion. It was not to be supposed that any Englishman who belived in our service to India, or

any Indian of moderate opinion who held a similar view, would desire to proceed on that road. All the Indian reformers with whom he had the honour at different times of discussing this question had expressed themselves absolutely convinced that so far as it was possible for a man to look ahead the idea of the separation of India from British influence, and to a large extent from British control, was a possibility that they would regard with horror and which they did not believe existed. He regretted that Lord Sydenham took a view so unfavourable to the visit of the Secretary of State to India at the request of Lord Chelmsford. As his noble friend knew, the Secretary of State was not responsible for that; the original invitation was addressed to Mr. Chamberlain. He could not think that the studious care that the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Montagu) took all the time he was in India to play second fiddle, and the fact that he accompanied the Viceroy to some of the great centres, would have done anything to depreciate the unique position of the Viceroy. Without committing himself to any particular proposal or paragraph in the Report, he could say with the utmost confidence, having studied the subject with some degree of care, that it had his full concurrence.

Lord Harris speaking of his experience in India recognized that reforms of some kind were absolutely necessary. The Government had before them the proposal of two officials, who no doubt had taken a great deal of evidence in India, but surely they were bound also to take into consideration the views of those voiceless millions, who, so far as they knew at present, had not had the opportunity of expressing their views as to what would be the effect of such a wide-reaching idea as that underlying the Memorandum. The authors of the Memorandum had jumped over local affairs and gone into the more advanced sphere of government. He should have thought it would have been possible to give wide powers in the direction of reforming district councils. Such a reform would have educated the people of India by degrees up to a capacity for administration of more important affairs. We ought not to stand in the way of giving to India such a reformed system of government as she is capable of enjoying for the benefit of the masses of her people.

Lord Lamington said that he had thought that the Secretary of State went out to India with preconceived views, and that the Report was framed in such a way as to reconcile itself to his views; but he confessed that having now had time to read the Report, it did not seem to contain so many dangers as he had

at first thought. Personally he would be only too glad to see the day when, under proper conditions, they could safely entrust a far greater share of the administration of India to the Indian people themselves.

Lord Islington, Under Secretary for India, speaking on behalf of the Government, said he thought that an examination in detail of the scheme at the present juncture was not really desirable and would not serve any useful purpose. There were outstanding questions of such importance as the system of the franchise to be adopted in India for the election of members to the proposed revised legislature, the character of the services which it was proposed to transfer to Ministers nominated from the Legislative Council, and the amount and extent of the modification of control exercised by the Secretary of State and by the Government of India. Any scheme which left still undetermined provisions on such vital points as these can for the time only be regarded in the light of a skeleton scheme. Then the Government, owing to the war, had been unable up to now to give consideration to the scheme, and he was not, therefore, in a position to state the opinion of the Government on the Report. The issues involved in the scheme were of great importance to India and to the Empire. Its success depended on the close consideration of the provisions both in principle and in detail. He trusted, therefore, that a reasonable period for consideration under the circumstances would not be mistaken or misrepresented in India as any attempt on the part of the responsible authorities in England to postpone it, or that it would be thought they had exercised dilatory action. The Government, after consideration, had authorized the Secretary for India to appoint two committees to deal with the subjects outstanding in the Report, in paragraphs 225 and 238. Those two Committees would consider first, questions of franchise and constituencies, and, secondly, which services were to be transferred to the provinces and which were to remain under the Government of India. Only by reforms undertaken at an early date could we retain the loyalty of the people of India. All responsible authorities in India were unanimous in thinking that, whatever else took place, it would be fatal to put off any longer an unmistakable declaration in India of our future policy. It was incumbent upon the Government, if they were not to be charged with the greatest breach of faith in the history of the Empire, to adopt a scheme of constitutional reform in India at the earliest possible date. He admitted that some of the proposals were

susceptible of improvement and modification. As soon as it was decided by the Cabinet that Mr Montagu should go to India to consult with the Viceroy, a committee was set up in the India Office to work out the outlines of a scheme consistent with the announcement that had been made. That committee consisted of the highest officials in the India Office, of members of the Council of India, and of more than one official in England at that time who occupied a high position in the administration of India. The recommendations of that committee constituted the starting point of the discussion in India and formed the material for what was now known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. In their deliberations Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy were continuously and closely assisted by members of the Government of India and members of all the various local Governments. The Report was really the result of the collaboration of gentlemen intimately connected with the affairs and the sentiments of India. He believed that it would be found that this scheme in its broad outlines, subject to modifications and improvements, would present fewer difficulties and carry out in closer fulfilment the announcement referred to, than any other scheme likely to be devised. The proposals of the Government should not be regarded as a reward to India for her services in the war. Such a view as that would be deeply resented in India itself. They should rather be regarded as the inevitable consequences of the recognition of the new position and status which India had attained within the Empire during the war. It was not overstating the case to say that some of the campaigns essential to our victory in this war could not have been successfully conducted without India's supply of men and materials.

Lord Donoughmore said he had been privileged to take part in most of the discussions in India on which the Report was based. Lord Sydenham was very extreme in his condemnation of the scheme, though he thought the Government could congratulate itself that the course of the debate had not followed on exactly the same lines, and that the noble Lords who were not favourable were at least ready to suspend their judgment. He was convinced that the statement of the two Committees would have excellent effect.

The Marquiss of Salisbury said that they had been told that the Report had not been approved by them. He desired to say on his own behalf and that of his friends that they must reserve complete liberty of action not merely as to details, but as to the principle of the Report.

Earl Curzon replied that his noble friend was entitled to make the reservations that he had made. He did not think the situation was really open to misunderstanding. Lord Islington made it clear that the Cabinet had not had time to discuss it. Their inability to make up their minds was not merely due to the great pressure resulting from the war, but was due to the fact that they had not yet received informations to enable them to make up their minds. For instance they had not had the opinions of the local Governments of India. They would also have the reasoned opinions of the Indian Government, and there were in addition important sections of the religious communities in India who would pronounce upon the scheme. Further, in this country there were important associations which in the next few months would acquaint them with their views. The two committees were really appointed to carry out the work which the Secretary of State and his colleagues would have done had they had the time.

The Earl of Selborne suggested that when the Government were prepared with their recommendations to Parliament for consideration it would be a convenient way of dealing with the matter by the aid of a Select Committee of the two Houses.

The Earl of Curzon said that the suggestion of the noble lord was one worthy of consideration. It had been before the minds of the Government and no doubt at a later stage an announcement would be made on the subjects.

The motion of Lord Sydenham was, by leave, withdrawn.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—July 31, 1918.

Indian Currency.

Mr. R. Gwynne asked the Secretary of State for India : What was the current price in rupees to-day paid for a sovereign in Bombay and for an ounce of silver bullion.

Mr. Montagu : According to the latest information received the bazaar price of sovereigns was about Rs. 19, and the quotation for bar silver Rs. 115 per 100 tolas fine.

Mr. Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now coining Indian silver bullion or bangles ; and on what terms.

Mr. Montagu : The Indian mints are coining silver bullion. Bullion is at present being purchased for coinage at the equivalent of one dollar per ounce, 1,000 fine, both in America and Australia. The output of the Bawdwin mines in Burma is being bought under contract at the same price. In April last the Government of India bought up the available stock of bar silver in Bombay at prices ranging from Rs. 109-3 to Rs. 113 per 100 tolas fine, the rupee fineness being eleven-twelfths. No bangles have been bought.

Mr. Gwynne asked whether the Indian mints were now coining a gold currency for India ; and whether such a currency was opposed to the Report of the Indian Currency Commission of 1913, and calculated to increase the drain of our gold to India.

Mr. Montagu : The Royal Commission saw no objection in principle, either from the Indian or from the Imperial standpoint, to the establishment of a mint for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns. The special circumstances which have led to the minting of a gold coin other than the sovereign were explained in the answer which I gave to the question of the hon. member for East Nottingham on June 26.

Mr. Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported from the United States of America in the past two years.

Mr. Montagu : During the two years ending March 31, 1918, gold to the value of £3,371,653 was imported into India from the United States of America.

Mr. Gwynne asked how much gold India had imported in the twenty years since her standard of value was changed from silver to gold in 1898, and how much gold did she import in the period 1878 to 1898.

Mr. Montagu : £253,625,656 worth of gold was imported into India during the period 1898-1918, and £52,563, 303. worth during the preceding twenty years.

HOUSE OF COMMONS—October 17, 1918.

Rowlatt Commission's Report.

Sir John Jardine enquired about the Report of the Sedition Committee.

Mr. Montagu stated : The Report is dated April 15, 1918. It gives an account of the connected conspiracies in countries outside India. I greatly regret the delay which has occurred in presenting the Report, and I am sure that the House will accept from me an assurance that there was every desire to furnish Parliament at the earliest possible moment with this most important document. Indeed, the suggestion that there had been any reluctance to publish in London what had already been published in India cannot be seriously entertained. The Report was addressed to the Government of India, and when I heard in July last that that government had decided to publish it, I instructed them by telegraph to send me 2,000 copies for presentation to Parliament. I was informed that they would be ready for despatch in August. In reply to a further enquiry in September, I was informed that 1,000 copies had been despatched on Aug. 16. It was only last week that I heard that though the Controller of Printing had made over the copies on the date named for despatch through some unfortunate oversight they had not, as a matter of fact, been actually sent. I immediately arranged for the Report to be reprinted here with all possible expedition, and I hope that it will be ready for presentation in the course of the next week or two. I am not reprinting the maps which are included in the Report as published in India, but they will be obtainable in the copies of the Indian edition when received. In publishing the Report, the Government of India, in the public interest, made a few small omissions which do not in any way affect the arguments or conclusions of the Report. The nature of the slight changes is explained in a resolution of the Government of India which will be published with the Report. The reprint of the Report will follow the Indian text.

Monday, October 21.

Indian Commissions in the Army.

Mr. Cotton asked the Secretary of State for India if he could state how many commissions in His Majesty's army had been granted up to the present to Indians; whether it was proposed to add to the number, and, if so, when and to what extent; what were the names of the recipients and the class and provinces to which they belonged; and what were the conditions as to training which had been decided upon.

Mr. Montagu: I presume that my Hon. friend refers to the scheme for the grant of King's commissions to Indians which the Government of India announced in July last. The first avenue to such commissions is through distinguished service in the War. I understand that with a view to selections enquiries are being made from the various theatres of War in which Indian troops have been or are being employed, but recommendations have not yet reached me. In other cases, the award of commissions will depend on the results of probationary training. The Government of India are engaged in selecting candidates for ten cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and are nominating probationers for admission to the special military college which they have established in India for training for temporary commissions. So far some forty-four probationers have been nominated.

Sir J. D. Rees: Is it not intended that this concession shall be of a wider character than indicated by the number of forty-four, which would not amount to very much spread over the whole of India?

Mr. Montagu: That only applies to temporary commissions from among those who have not been in the Army. I have not the figures yet about the recommendations from among those who have been in the Army.

Indian Prisoners of War.

Replying to questions by Mr. Cotton and Mr. Alden, Mr. Hope said: I am informed by the India Office that there are 2 Indian officers and 513 rank and file at present prisoners of War in German hands, 2 officers and 13 rank and file have been exchanged, and 9 officers, of whom 8 have since been repatriated, and 60 rank and file, of whom 2 have since died and 16 have been repatriated,

have been transferred to a neutral country. I am informed that the great majority of these prisoners have been transferred to Roumania, the remainder being interned in various camps in Germany. On the whole, their treatment appears to be satisfactory. The number of Indian officers and men prisoners of War in Turkey is 217 and 6,659 respectively, and the number who have been repatriated on grounds of health is 6 and 1,170 respectively. None have been transferred for internment to neutral countries as there is no agreement in force with the Turkish Government for this purpose. The only recent reports on camps in Turkey are those by the representatives of the Netherlands Minister at Constantinople referred to in my reply of the 17th instant to my hon. and learned friend, the Member for Bassetlaw, on seven working camps and hospitals in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Only a few Indians were interned at these places, the greater number being in the working camps on the Bagdad Railway, in the Taurus, and to the south-east of the Taurus. The latter camps are, unfortunately, not within the districts which the representatives of the Netherlands Legation are entitled to visit. I may add that under the exchange of prisoners with Turkey which is fixed for next month, 700 Indians are entitled to be released.

Sir J. Butcher : Would it be competent for any neutral Power to send representatives to the Taurus to visit the camps there and report ?

Mr. Hope : Up to the present that has been refused, but a further request will be made.

Sir J. D. Rees : Have any representation been made as to the supply of warm clothing to the Indians now in the uplands of Asia Minor so that they do not suffer in the coming winter ?

Mr. Hope : Oh, yes ; that has not only been ordered but provided, and will, I understand, go out at the first opportunity.

Mr. Cotton : Will the hon. Gentleman be able to publish the reports of which he spoke in reply to my question ?

Mr. Hope : There is always a difficulty about these because of the conditions laid down, and which have been mentioned on previous occasions.

Mr. Roch : Up to what date do the figures apply as to prisoners in Turkey ?

Mr. Hope : I cannot say that offhand, but I think it is up to quite recently.

Lord H. Cavendish Bentinck : When will be the first opportunity of sending this clothing ?

Mr. Hope : When the repatriation ship sails from Alexandria.

Riots in India.

Replying to Sir John Jardine Mr Montagu gave details of riots in Madras and Calcutta in September last. He characterised the article (in the Indian Daily News about Islam) which caused riots in Calcutta as foolish and offensive.

The Indian Army.

Replying to Mr Yate, Mr Montagu stated that he had endeavoured to secure that officers returning to duty in India from the expeditionary force had received a notice in time to make their own arrangements for remitting money to their families. He would again draw the attention of Govt. of India to that point. He could not undertake to extend to Indian army men serving in India concessions whereby Indian army men serving with the expeditionary force are permitted to take family allowances through the India office because this would involve a heavy increase of work in the accounts dept. of India office, the staff of which was depleted.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Montagu stated that Genl. Allenby's forces included over 100,000 Indian troops. All accounts testified to the courage, discipline and endurance of all ranks. It was particularly gratifying that new Indian units which replaced European troops sent to the western front rivalled the conduct of even veteran troops and fought in a manner worthy of the high traditions of the Indian army. Mr Montagu recalled the fact that Genl. Allenby himself telegraphed him that Indian cavalry and Infantry had taken a leading and brilliant part in fighting. He was proud to say that the Indian cavalry figured prominently in a long distance ride which led to the fall of Damascus.

House of Lords—Oct. 23, 1918.

Debate on Indian Reforms.

Viscount Midleton calling attention to the Report on Indian Reforms moved "That it is desirable that a Joint Committee of both Houses be appointed to consider and report thereon." He declared that a proper examination of the question had not been made. Public opinion here should have been made aware whether the Government did or did not approve not merely the principles of progress, but, in some degree, the principle adopted or suggested by the Secretary of State and Viceroy. To this day they had no indication of whether the principle of this scheme commended itself to the Government or not. In the meantime the attention of the people of this country was being focussed upon the scheme put

forward by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford—whether it was going to be accepted by the Government or not—as if it were the only scheme that the Government would consider. It was obviously a case for examination by experts and by a committee. The Government were putting themselves in a position in which, before they had made up their minds as to whether the position were sound or not, they would have to occupy it and not be able to go back upon it. They had a right to press upon the Government one of two courses; either to take into consideration at once the principle of this scheme and declare that it was the only one which they could present to Parliament, or—and this was the alternative he suggested—they should allow the public enquiry to take place in this country, which was almost foreshadowed by the Leader of the House on August 6, and make it possible for such an authority as a Select Committee of both Houses to consider and report upon the scheme. This was an attempt to adapt Western methods, where they were inapplicable, to Eastern sentiments and habits. In order to promote national spirit they were acquiescing in the restarting of abuses which they had spent a century and a half to stamp out. He regarded that as an impossible proposition for this Parliament to undertake. He was anxious that the Government should consider whether there were not some means of achieving the result devised without the same sacrifices. It was desirable to consider whether, in the case of an Empire like India, they should not keep the central power unimpaired in the hands of the British majority, and draw a distinction between the central power and the provincial assembly. He did not take a gloomy view of the future, although he recognised that this attempt to hand over certain subjects entirely seemed to him to be fraught with the greatest danger. If they went so far as granting the franchise, then they must educate those who were going to use it. There was an enormous scope for development of sanitation, and India must deal with this question as well as that of education. He suggested that the Committee should consider whether some of the steps it was proposed to take might not prove to be reactionary. Let them also consider whether there were not other means by which they could associate Indians with their institutions. He begged the Government to consider whether this was the moment for pluming themselves on replacing institutions which had worked well, merely because they could be called bureaucratic by other institutions. After the War there would be great development in this country, and he hoped there would be great developments in India also. It would be tragic if we won the

War in the West and yet be witted with having failed to give freedom in the East. In order to give that freedom they must proceed with caution, and therefore he invited the Government to reconsider the situation by allowing the report on Indian Constitutional Reform to be examined by a Joint Committee of both Houses.

The Marquis of Lansdowne said the argument for further consideration appeared to be irresistible. The proposals spelt, in fact, revolution in Indian Government. What the House was asked to agree to was no mere development of a system already in existence, no mere natural progress along the path of reform, but an abrupt transition from the old to the new. And the proposals were made at a very critical time in the History of India, when the margin of safety in the country was none too wide and they were presented while they were still in ignorance on many important points. He complimented the authors of the report on the manner in which they had handled their work, for he had never read a more interesting document or one compiled with greater skill or which contained more interesting suggestions. One of the most attractive characteristics of it was the absolute frankness and sincerity with which many passages admitted the difficulties which lay in the way. But how far were the Government committed to the scheme?

He associated himself with the sentiment in the report that Indians should be more closely associated with the Government and with the development of Self-Governing institutions. But his doubts began with the third limb of the policy of 1917. They found at the end of the announcement this intimation that the goal at which we should aim was the earliest realisation of full representative government. That was an intimation which SEEMED TO HIM TO BE FULL OF DANGER. India was to have full representative government which would entitle her eventually to be on an equal footing with the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth, and machinery was to be set up by which the whole system was to be examined and overhauled after an interval of time, in order that it might be tested by the democratic standard and tuned up to a democratic feeling. That seemed to him to amount to an invitation to place ourselves at the top of an inclined plane with the full knowledge that at the bottom of it we should find unmitigated democracy. He viewed with the utmost apprehension the idea that we should accept a proposition of that kind. He profoundly distrusted the idea of imposing Western democratic institutions on motley congeries of peoples who had very little in common except that they were Eastern and not Western peoples.

They were, to use a phrase which was not his own, Asiatics apart, dominated by Asiatic ideas. Towards the end of the report there was a very attractive picture of a great British Empire in which eventually India was to find her place alongside the Self-governing British Dominions.

Self-governing Dominions were British to the back bone and would remain British ; India was Eastern to the back bone and would remain Eastern. She would remain a country to be judged by Eastern standards and compared with other Eastern countries, and she would remain unmoved, except on the surface, by Western democratic ideas. Caste was one of the greatest difficulties which Indian reformers had to encounter, and he found nothing in the Report taking that into account. Could they imagine the Self-governing institutions prevailing in Canada or Australia working as smoothly as they did if they had anything like the caste system of India ? Another weak point in the scheme seemed to be the manner in which the Native States were dealt with. They were told that this great boon was to be given to India as a reward for practical co-operation in the war. He yielded to no one in his admiration for the manner in which India had played her part in the great struggle. But he was not quite convinced that the way to reward those who had been fighting so gallantly for us was to reward them with democratic institutions.

In the pursuit of this great democratic goal—they ran the risk of losing sight of a very different goal—the goal for which great Indian administrators of the past had always striven. He meant the goal at which they found peace and prosperity, contentment, freedom from risk of invasion, freedom from pestilence, and protection against the tyranny of the usurer. That was the goal of the old Indian administrators, and that was the goal which to his mind mattered most. He did not believe that they would get any nearer to that goal by attaching great patches of European veneer to an Oriental system. There were one or two danger points in the proposals. The outstanding danger point seemed to be that the whole object of the reform was to convert these legislative councils, armed as they were now with the powers of discussion and criticism, into Parliaments on the European model. He placed no great confidence on the safeguards which had been provided. Such a plan always meant the same thing, giving something with one hand and trying to take back a great deal with the other. If they succeeded in taking a great deal back, they created indignation. If they did not get it back

their safeguards were not worth the paper they were written upon. He could not conceive an arrangement more likely to lead to the general embarrassment of all concerned—the Viceroy, local Ministers, and the Legislative Council itself—than that outlined in the report.

He was much afraid that the adoption of the proposals would be the destruction of the Indian Civil Service as they had known it in the past. Than that Service the Empire had no more splendid asset; there was no Service of which the record had been more distinguished. It was quite clear, indeed, that the authors themselves knew in their hearts that there was no room in the scheme for the Indian Civil Service that they had known in past years. He thought it was likely to be done to death politically. Hitherto the strength of the Service had lain in the fact that its authority was unchallenged. The district officer depended on the support of the Government, and he got that support as long as he did his duty. Would he be equally sure of the support when his Departmental chief might be an Indian, and when the greater part of his colleagues were Indians? He could conceive no greater misfortune to India than that in that country British rule should no longer be interpreted by British agents.

Lord Sydenham said he could not help feeling that the time chosen for the announcement of the new policy was peculiarly inopportune. A very dangerous Revolutionary movement with German support was in full operation, and a serious organised rising had been discovered and frustrated just in time. It would not have been difficult to say that until the War ended, a great radical change in the Government of India could not be considered. Instead of that, every Indian malcontent was given to understand that great concessions were in near prospect. The Report had raised the most extravagant hopes among the agitators and created widespread alarm among the people who furnished most of the revenue of India, and who were beginning to be afraid that we were about to abandon them. A startling feature of the Report was the absolutely frank admission by the authors of the most striking facts and the ignoring of those facts when they came to substantive proposals. One result of the narrow basis of representation was that no less than 48 per cent of the seats of the Legislative Councils of India were held by lawyers. That was a misfortune in any country but was really a disaster in India, where the interest of the legal profession and the agricultural masses were always in violent conflict. Under the system of representation non-Brahmin Hindus had no chances

whatever of taking any part in the affairs of their country. Was it to be wondered at that the non-Brahmins population were beginning to be most seriously alarmed? It was a little difficult to take some parts of the Report seriously. The prestige and power of the district officers, who had often been made the targets of unjust criticism, must be maintained.

The Government reply.

Lord Islington. Under Secretary for India, said he did not propose to follow in any detail the discussion, which had ranged over a wide field. The Report which was the subject of analysis and discussion was quite incomplete at present. As he understood it, the main charge in regard to procedure was that the appointment of the two Committees about to arrive in India and their enquiry in India ought not to have taken place until His Majesty's Government had considered and approved of the Report. His answer was that these Committees had been instructed to go to India in order to report on subjects which were really an integral part of the scheme. The Government required the whole scheme to be submitted to them before they gave their considered opinion upon it. He repudiated the suggestion that by the procedure which had been adopted the Government and Parliament, and possibly the country, might be committed to a particular line of policy from which it would be difficult to withdraw. The elaboration of a particular scheme in detail did not necessarily commit the Government, nor the country to it if hereafter it was found, on close and further investigation, that an alternative scheme was preferable and Parliament was satisfied that that was so. Apart from that, he submitted that it would be quite unreasonable to ask the Government to devote their time to these questions, when every one throughout the country and the Alliance was demanding of them undivided attention to the War. There was another vital aspect of the scheme which had not been very closely alluded to, and that was in regard to the future organization of the India Office, and the relation it should bear to the Central and Provincial Governments of India, and the extent to which, and the method by which, it should bear relation to the Imperial Parliament. Those questions would require the most careful investigation, enquiry, and deliberation. An outside Committee had now been appointed to deal with this matter and report. This Committee would at an early date commence its work, and the Government would be able to report the result of its labours at a time which would coincide with the Report of the other Committees.

Those reports would constitute a comprehensive scheme, and then it would be possible for Parliament and the country to form a really considered opinion on the proposed reforms. For those and other reasons he strongly urged that the right moment to set up a Parliamentary Committee was after, and not before, the Bill was introduced. The Viceroy had been compelled to refuse passports to Indians who wished to put before Parliament and the public their views on Indian reform. It would be highly inconvenient if a Select Committee were to be sitting in this country in the next few months while that restriction would remain in force. Only the other day the Viceroy promised that as soon as circumstances permitted every facility would be given to enable deputations and representatives of different classes of opinion in India to visit this country and lay their view before representatives here. He thought therefore, it would cause a great deal of misunderstanding if a committee were appointed now to take evidence and Indian deputations, owing to the emergencies of the War, were unable to come over and take a share in the proceedings.

When the Government had introduced the Bill and it had been read a second time *it should be Referred to a Select Committee* consisting of representatives of both Houses specially appointed to take evidence. Evidence could then be taken from Indian deputations and from all groups of people who desired to advance their views. At this juncture he did not intend to attempt anything in the nature of a detailed analysis of the points raised in the course of the debate. He hoped that his action in that respect would not be misunderstood in India, and that it would not be thought that because he did not enter in detail into any attempted defence of the Viceroy's Report, he in any way accepted the criticisms that had been made on many of the proposals in that Report during the debate. He ventured to point out that it was incumbent upon the Government* and upon this country faithfully and with sincerity to interpret the announcement of August 20 last. He believed that the more exhaustive the enquiry made by their lordships the more it would be found in the end that, with all its imperfections and shortcomings, the scheme embodied in the Report would probably present less objections than any other scheme that was put forward. Indians who had resided in British India had become accustomed to certain standards and customs associated with our rule, the continuance of which would not be guaranteed if such a drastic change were made as indicated in the only counterproposal he had the opportunity of discovering—that with which Lord Syden-

ham was closely associated. That scheme seemed to him to be a very inadequate interpretation of the announcement of August 20. He suggested that when the two committees had reported, the Cabinet had thoroughly considered their reports, and the Bill had been matured, there would be ample time and opportunity for their Lordships' House and the country to give full consideration to the scheme in its entirety. If that view was acceptable to their Lordships the motion might be amended in order to provide for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider a Bill, rather than a Select Committee of both Houses to criticise a Report of officials which had not at present been approved by the Government.

Viscount Bryce admitted that this was, as the Reports stated, an extraordinary experiment—an experiment which entrusted many millions of people with functions and duties which had taken the process of centuries to enable the peoples of Europe to discharge... viz., those of finance and administration. The Report recognised briefly but in an appreciative sense the value of Self-governing institutions, but he was disappointed to find that it contained very few proposals as to how Self-government was to be applied. He submitted to the Government that when they came to work out the scheme they should try to see if more could be done to create smaller local Self-governing areas. It was desirable not to be too bold in making experiments. With smaller areas they had a better chance of getting elections to make well and to observe due vigilance in observing the conduct of the members of the governing body. With regard to the motion he deprecated the adoption of any dilatory course which would be sure to be misrepresented in India. It must be recognised that when they got to a certain point they must go forward. When hopes were excited they could not lag behind in giving effect to them. They all knew that progress must be made in the direction of more Self-government, and it was better to go on always making some advance. They had talked a great deal of what would be done after the War. They had acknowledged the spirit in which India had come forward, and it would be most unfortunate if the feeling we spread abroad that we were failing to live up to the promises which had been held out, disappointment would cause discontent, and discontent spread disaffection.

The debate was then adjourned.

The House met again for this discussion on 24th October, 1918 when Lord Crewe opposed the motion and said the war cabinet had

not yet given any decision on the Report. Lord Shelborne supported Lord Middleton's motion.

Lord Donoughmore strongly urged the Indian leaders to make it perfectly clear that they* were not connected with the Extremists who were so rightly condemned in the Rowlatt Report, otherwise the British public might be timid in conferring new powers on Indians.

Lord Curzon replying to the debate, pointed out that the decision of the Joint Committee now would not be likely to carry confidence, as they would be unable to consult Indian opinion upon the proposals. Enumerating the objections to the course Lord Middleton suggested, Lord Curzon said that the Government would not be in a position to express a final judgment on the scheme of Indian Reforms, until the two special Committees which had been appointed had reported. He suggested that the Secretary of State for India should place his scheme in a draft bill before the Parliament at an early date thus giving the members an opportunity of expressing their views on the various principles of the scheme.

Motion Rejected.

Lord Middleton's motion was rejected by 25 votes to 21

House of Lords, Nov. 15-1918.

Unrest in India.

Lord Sydenham asked question regarding the riots in Madras and Calcutta of September last, and about the Chandravarkar-Beachcroft Internment report, and whether Government did not think necessary a further retention of the War legislations in India, especially in view of the disturbed state of that country.

Lord Islington, Under-Secretary of State, replied that the disturbances in Madras were purely due to economic causes; that Lord Ronaldshay and his colleagues in Calcutta had handled in an admirable manner the riots in Calcutta which otherwise might have been a very serious incident. The acknowledgments made of the conduct of the General Commanding in Calcutta, his staff, and the Commissioner of Police were well deserved.

As regards the Bengal internments, the report of Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. Beachcroft would be published immediately. The report stated that in 800 out of 808 cases the reasons for the action taken was sufficient. In view of the tortuous webs of intrigue

that had to be unravelled and the nature of the evidence to be obtained when dealing with a widespread conspiracy in war time, the report remarkably vindicated the Bengal Government and the Special Branch of the Police which dealt with the matter and succeeded beyond all expectations, and a tribute was due to the loyalty and devotion of the subordinates of the Crown who carried out a difficult and dangerous task.

Lord Islington emphasised firstly that in Bengal there was undoubtedly an undercurrent of lawlessness and hostility which, unless carefully watched and checked in every way possible, was liable to break out and involve all classes of population in bloodshed. Secondly, that the Government of Bengal, faced with a difficult and critical position, had shown and were showing promptness and decision, while paying scrupulous attention to the feelings of the various sections of the community. Thirdly, it was abundantly clear that the Government of India could not be deprived of the special powers needed to deal effectively with violence and disaffection. He did not say it would be necessary to maintain entirely the war legislation but it was imperative that the authorities should retain adequate means of coping with an extraordinarily difficult situation, which ordinary laws were not framed to meet, and of securing reasonable security to the peoples entrusted to their charge.

House of Commons—Nov. 20—'18.

India's War contribution.

Sir J. D. Rees asked : When will Parliament be asked to assent to the proposal that India shall defray a large share of the cost of the military forces raised in India ?

Mr. Montagu replied : I am afraid that action must be postponed until the new Parliament meets.

India's Industrial Development.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, Mr. Montagu stated that he had received only a summary of the report of the Indian Industrial Commission. He proposed to arrange for the publication of the Report when he received the copies for which he had asked. When dealing with the Report he would consider the proposals in Sir Charles Bedford's memorandum of August to establish a representative London Advisory Council in connection with the measures relating to the Indian industrial development to co-operate with

similarly constituted Provincial Councils in India. He proposed to take action with regard to the industrial development policy, apart from the general measures relating to the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

Monazite Deposits.

Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Montagu stated that the Monazite supplies of India were now in British hands. The Government was fully alive to the necessity of preventing the Monazite deposits from falling under foreign control.

House of Lords. Nov. 21—'18.

Sir Reginald Craddock's Dissent on Reforms.

Lord Sydenham asked, whether the dissent of Sir Reginald Craddock to the proposals of Government of India in 1916 and any minutes of the Councils of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and the opinions of the heads of Provinces and their Councils would be available to Parliament before their report was complete.

Lord Islington replying emphasised that these documents, especially Sir Reginald Craddock's minute, were confidential in public interest. While he could not promise the complete publication of the Reports of Local Governments all materials useful in the discussion would be published. The object of real interest on which all criticism would be focussed was the Bill which would be formulated in due course, considered, and finally accepted by the Cabinet and presented to Parliament. The Bill when it was before the public would supersede the Report and all correspondence. The House should await the Bill, when there would be opportunities of subjecting it to the fullest criticism inside and outside the Parliament.

THE ELECTION AND INDIA.

On Dec. 28, 1918 the votes cast at the General Election were counted. The result proved an overwhelming majority for Mr. Lloyd George's Coalition. The Coalition total amounts to 484, a clear majority of 262, in a House (Commons) of 707 members.

The Asquith section of the Liberal party has been practically wiped out of existence; Mr. Asquith himself has been soundly defeated and with him have gone many of his staunch lieutenants, including that constant friend of India, Mr. Charles Roberts.

A very large proportion of well known friends of India are no longer in the House. Mr. H. E. Cotton's all too brief membership is now at an end; Mr. H. G. Chancellor, Sir Edward Parrot, Mr. J. M. Robertson, and Professor Lees-Smith failed to secure re-election. Amongst others who failed are Col. Hugh Meyler, Mr. G. Lansbury, Mr. Sidney Webb, Capt. Sidney Ransom, Maj. Graham pole, Mr. John Scurr, and Dr G. B. Clerk—all well known in India for the interest they have always taken on Indian matters. Sir Herbert Roberts did not stand. Mr. W. Joynson-Hicks, the champion and spokesman of the Indo-British association; was unfortunately for India re-elected; and so too that ardent supporter of the Montford Reforms, Sir J. D. Rees. Com. Wedgwood and Col. Yate were returned unopposed. Mr. Mc-Cullum Scott, whose speech in the House last session on the German menace to India attracted much attention, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, and Sir Donald Maclean also secured re-election. Amongst the new members is Mr. T. P. Bennett of the *Times of India*, Bombay, whose career would undoubtedly be watched with interest in India.

Mr. Montagu was returned by a majority of nearly 6,000 votes over his labour opponent for Cambridgeshire. He must, to a very great extent, depend upon the benevolent influence of Mr. Austen Chamberlain who is to be the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Fortunately Mr. Chamberlain has committed himself very strongly in favour of the Reforms. But the Prime Minister is surrounded and supported by a very vast mass of vested interest, and Capitalists who have great vested interests in India. This makes the outlook rather gloomy for India.

House of Commons—Feb. 17—19, '19.**The Reforms.**

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that the reports of the Provincial Governments on the reform scheme, views of the Government of India thereon and reports of Southborough Committees would be presented to Parliament.

Replying to questions by Sir J. Rees, Mr. Montagu gave assurance that the Government of India would consider the claims of European subordinate police officers who joined the Indian army reserve of officers to preferential treatment in respect of enlistment in Indian Police.

Regarding the Bombay strike, Mr. Montagu said he was sure the House would sympathise with Sir G. Lloyd at being confronted with such a difficult situation immediately on assuming office and that the House would congratulate him on the result of his action.

Mr. Montagu stated that the recent information from Moscow indicates that H. S. Suhrawardy who was studying Russian in Moscow on the outbreak of war was still living there.

Replying to Mr. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India contemplated the transfer from India of all enemy subjects, interned or uninterned subjects to exceptions for cogent reasons. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the Government of India already possessed statutory powers to exclude or expel aliens.

Mr. Yate draw the attention of the House to the very grave hardships of officers coming home on leave from India owing to high steamer fares. Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India and he himself had been anxiously considering the matter. He was now consulting the Ministry of Shipping by which fares were fixed as to whether a reduction was at present possible.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wolmer Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was considering the extension to Indian army officers of bonus and increases of pay granted to British army officers for the period during which armies of occupations were necessary. Regarding the cancelling of exchange compensation allowance to officers of Indian army, Mr. Montagu referred to his previous reply on this subject and said he was of opinion that the feeling of Indian army officers in this connection was due to lack of appreciation of facts.

The Reforms.

Replying to questions by Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Montagu stated that Lajpat rai would not be permitted to come to England from America at present, but Mr. Montagu would gladly reconsider the matter when peace was signed. Mr. Montagu stated that the Government of India was about to issue a new Arms Regulation, based on the recommendations of the Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council, abolishing all racial distinctions, and enabling all persons of recognised status and character to obtain licences. Mr. Montagu hoped that the Report of the Southborough Committee would be issued shortly. He hoped to introduce the Indian Reforms Bills during the present session. Replying to Mr. Norton Griffiths, Mr. Bridgeman said :—The President of the Board of Trade would gladly cooperate with the Government of India in any practical measure to secure adequate supplies of India's Monazite sand deposits.

Replying to Col. Yate Mr. Montagu stated that he had up to present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments regarding the reform proposals but he expected shortly to receive them officially from the Government of India along with the Government of India's considered views on the whole subject. They would, of course, be presented to Parliament but he was unable to specify the date. In replying to Col. Yate, Mr. Montagu stated that he approved of the Government of India for increasing the scale of pay for the Imperial Police Service based on the recommendations of local Governments. He hoped to announce it shortly when one or two points of detail had been cleared up. Mr. Montagu pointed out that the general scales of pay of the lower ranks of the Police had been considerably improved in nearly all Provinces during recent years.

Replying to Mr. Wedgwood Mr. Amery said :—The Governor was giving attention to the question of the constitution of Ceylon and would submit his recommendations to the Secretary of State in due course.

Replying to Mr. Bennet, Mr. Montagu stated that in view of dearness of food in India, he had urged the Shipping Controller substantially to reduce freights on rice from Burma to India. He had heard that rates had been reduced by an average of 43 per cent compared with November and December. The rate from Rangoon to Bombay was now fixed at thirty rupees per ton subject to a rebate of ten per cent.

Captain Foxcroft :—"Will Territorials who went to India in 1914 many of whom have been in bad stations and away from England ever since although not in an actual theatre of war, receive any special recognition for oversea service."

Mr. Guest replied :—"A comprehensive statement of the conditions of award of all medals for services in the present war will shortly be published and services of Territorials in India will not be overlooked".

Sir M. Dokerel affirmed that Mrs. Besant was about to lecture in Ireland and asked in view of her dangerous activities in India whether she would be prohibited.

Mr. Samuel replied that he was not aware of the matter.

House of Commons—Feb. 24, '19.

The Rowlatt Bills.

Replying to Colonel Yate, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the Government of India had decided to increase the pay of Indian Army Officers by extending to them the bonus and increases of pay recently granted to British Army Officers for the period during which the armies of occupation were maintained. In view of this concession, the Government of India was not prepared to revise the permanent rates of pay.

Colonel Yate asked an assurance that the Government of India in meeting amendment in the Select Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council to the Bills giving effect to the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee would accept nothing in any way tending to weaken the measures considered necessary by the Rowlatt Committee.

Mr. Montagu replied that beyond the proposal to limit the the Emergency Powers Bill to three years he was aware of no change in the views of the Government of India with regard to this legislation. The Government of India, however, had announced in the Legislative Council that they would endeavour to meet in the Select Committee any reasonable amendments that did not destroy the effectiveness of the measure. *Mr. Montagu* said he considered that the Government of India in this regard had exercised a wise discretion.

House of Lords—Feb. 26, 1919.

LORD SINHA TAKES SEAT.

Lord Sinha took his seat in the House of Lords with traditional ceremony. He was sponsored by Lords Islington and Carmichael. Instead of taking the Oath he only affirmed. Members of Indian staff officers watched the ceremony from the Gallery of the House.

House of Lords—March 4, '19.

In the House of Lords Lord Sinha made his maiden speech in answer to questions by Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham.

Lord Sydenham had the following Questions on the Paper—
To ask the Under-Secretary of State for India—

1. If he can say when the opinions of the Provincial Governments in India on the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State will be made available for the information of Parliament and the public.
2. If he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

The noble Lord said : My Lords, among the most important proposals in the Report of the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India were those which contemplated the establishment in all the Provincial Governments of a diarchical system. That system is quite unknown to past history and government, and I confess I regard it myself as impracticable and fantastic. It has now been carefully considered by the responsible Governments who would have to carry it out, and I feel sure your Lordships will agree with me that their opinions should be made known as soon as possible to Parliament and to the public. These opinions, I believe, have now been at the India Office for several weeks, and what I urge is that they should be given to us as soon as possible. There is another set of Papers which are not mentioned in my Question but on which I gave private notice to the noble Lord. I hope he will undertake to make public

the evidence given before Lord Southborough's Committees which I believe have now finished their work. If this is not done I assure the noble Lord that there will be the greatest dissatisfaction among the non-Brahmin communities in India, which, as your Lordships well know, compose the vast majority of the Indian people.

Lord Islington

Congratulated Lord Sinha on his high office. He had been associated with Lord Sinha in Public work in India and in England for thirty years, and he could easily understand how Lord Sinha had come to occupy very distinguished and responsible posts in connection with India and the Empire for the last ten years. His present post would doubtless present many serious difficulties. Those who knew India would realise that, and none would realise it better than Lord Sinha who had shown characteristic public spirit in accepting the post.

The Question asked by Lord Sydenham is an important one. He asks that the Reports of the Local Governments on the Secretary of State and Viceroy's Report should be published at as early a date as possible, and that full time should be given to Parliament and the public to study and consider that Report. Later on undoubtedly the report of Lord Southborough's Committees will be available for Parliament and the public, but these Local Government Reports stand rather apart from those because they have been considered and drafted by Local Governments mainly in the light of the proposals embodied in the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and as such must constitute an important part of the groundwork of any scheme which may be ultimately adopted in connection with constitutional reform. In particular, the views of Local Governments will be of the greatest possible importance on extremely urgent questions.

I am confident that a very liberal and definite policy is necessary in this connection. Discontent which undoubtedly has been rife in many parts of India during recent years is, I believe, to be attributable in no small measure to the fact that the Provincial Governments have been unduly checked and controlled by the distant Central Government. I feel that whatever shape constitutional reform may take as the result of discussion in Parliament, if it is to be effected it must be coupled with provincial decentralisation, and that should be on a thorough and comprehensive scale. That is a question which will require very careful study both as regards the opinions and experience of the Central Government and also, equally, as regards the opinions and experience of Local Governments.

There is one other Report which was not alluded to by Lord Sydenham, and on which I should be grateful if the noble Lord could give us some information. It is the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission. This again is a question of absolutely first class importance to India, not excepting even constitutional reform, because the future prosperity of India must in a large measure depend on the extent to which her vast native resources can be manufactured and dealt with by her own people effectively and profitably.

Lord Sinha.

The Under-Secretary of State for India (Lord Sinha) : My Lords, it is with considerable diffidence that I rise this evening to address your Lordships, and I hope I may be not altogether out of order if I begin by thanking my noble friend Lord Islington, from whom I have in the past had a great deal of courtesy and consideration, for the more than generous terms with which he has been pleased to refer to me, and I thank your Lordships also for the very kind reception you gave to the remarks.

With regard to the Question on the Paper by the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham, my task is comparatively easy, because I have only to draw your Lordships' attention to what has been already promised as early as November last by Lord Islington himself and also last month—on February 17 and 19—by the Secretary of State for India in another place. The first set of Papers which Lord Sydenham asked should be published refers to the opinions by the Local Governments on the great scheme known at the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for constitutional reforms in India. Replying in the House of Commons to a Question put on February 17 and 19 respectively the Secretary of State said :—

“I have at present seen only advance copies of the opinions of Provincial Governments as to the proposals for constitutional reforms, but I expect before long to receive them officially from the Government of India, together with that Government's considered views on the whole subject, and of course they will be presented to Parliament, though I cannot at present specify a date.”

Then, as early as November last, Lord Islington speaking in your Lordships' House, said this—

“The reports from the Local Governments on the Reforms Report and all the material which will be of use in the discussion of this matter, in so far of course as they do not contain confidential

matter, will in due course and without unnecessary delay, be published."

I repeat that assurance, but I cannot add anything further to it. The Government of India's Despatch giving their views on the opinions of the Local Governments has not yet been received, though it is expected that it will not be very long in arriving, probably not later than the end of this month. The Report of the Government of India should then be in the hands of the Secretary of State. As soon as it is received and has been considered by the Secretary of State, it will be placed before parliament.

There is another set of Papers for which the noble Lord asked—the Reports of the two Committees over which Lord Southborough presided in India, and also the evidence which may have been recorded by those Committees. As regards the Reports themselves the Secretary of State has definitely pledged himself to place them before Parliament. The Reports, so far as we know, have not yet been signed—at least our information is that it is only one Report of the Committee, that to determine the electorates, that has been signed. We have no information regarding the others. Lord Southborough and the members of his Committees are, I believe, already on their way back from India, and the Reports will be in the hands of the Secretary of State, I hope before the end of the present month. As soon as they are received they will be placed before your Lordships' House. As to the evidence, all that I am in a position to tell your Lordships at present is that the procedure to regulate proceedings of these Committees was left entirely to the discretion of Lord Southborough and the members of the Committee. It is not known whether they have recorded evidence with a view to publication, and in any case until the return of Lord Southborough and receipt of the Committee's reports it is not possible to give any information on the subject or to publish any evidence that may have been given.

May I take this opportunity of expressing my entire concurrence with what fell from the noble Lord, Lord Sydenham. I also consider that absolute frankness is essential in the consideration of these most important matters; and so far as the Secretary of State is concerned, and so far as I myself am concerned, I hope that there will be no occasion on the part of your Lordships to complain in that respect. With regard to the documents to which my noble friend Lord Islington referred—namely, the Report of the Indian Industrial Com-

mission—may I remind Your Lordships that it was formally laid before Your Lordships House on February 19 last, and on inquiry of the printers it has been ascertained that copies will be available for circulation on Thursday next by noon. Therefore copies will be available both to Your Lordships' House and to the public on Thursday next. I entirely agree, if I may say so, with Lord Islington as to the importance of this report, and also with regard to the complaint which he has made—though perhaps it is not for me to urge it now—that the Government of India, before this Commission was appointed, could hardly be accused of having been too progressive in industrial matters. It is the earnest hope of all who are concerned in the Government of India, as well as of the Indian people themselves, that effect may be given to the recommendations of this Commission as soon as they have been considered by the Government of India in the first place, and then by the Secretary of State and by Parliament. I can assure my noble friend that, so far as any action on this Report is concerned, the Secretary of State has already intimated to the Viceroy that no action should be taken until the opinion of the Government of India had been received by him, and there will be ample opportunity given to the members of Your Lordships' House to study and consider this Report, and, if need be, to raise any discussion upon it before any action is taken in regard to it. That is, I think, all that I need say at this stage with regard to the first Question on the Paper.

Lord Crewe.

My Lords, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of adding one word to the very full tribute to the services in the past of my noble friend who has just sat down, and the high hopes we all entertain of the work which he is going to do here in the future. I also have had the pleasure of being associated with my noble friend in the past, and I know very well what the value of his services is; and I think that Your Lordships here, from observing the easy mastery with which he replied to the Question of the noble Lord on the cross-benches and the manner in which he developed the various points which arose out of that Question, will agree that we can look forward with the utmost confidence to the conduct of the very important measures of which he will no doubt have charge in the future in Your Lordships' House.

[Noble Lords: Hear, hear.]

I have practically nothing to add, except to express my great satisfaction at the phrase which tell from the noble Lord op

posite regarding the necessity of complete frankness and openness in displaying all the facts which may come from India to this country ; and I feel certain, therefore, that he and the Secretary of State will put the closest possible construction on the word "confidential" when he stated that it would be only confidential matter which would be excluded from publication in regard to these Provincial Reports, I can quite believe that those Provincial Reports, or some of them, contain things which, from the mere point of view of the promotion of a particular policy the India Office would just as soon should not be placed on the Table of the two Houses for discussion, possibly with the result of supplying argument to those who may oppose the policy of His Majesty's Governments. But I am quite certain that the India Office will not in any way succumb to a temptation to set aside, or not to reveal, any such statements that may come ; and as a matter of fact, knowing what the general line of the policy of His Majesty's Government is. I think, we may confidently assume that a great deal of approbation in this matter of devolution, of which Lord Islington spoke, is certain to come from all the different Provincial Governments. We can look forward with great interest to the appearance of these Reports, and I sincerely hope that their advent will not be much longer delayed.

Lord Sydenham.

I beg to thank the noble Lord for the answer he has given me, and especially for his promise—which I know he will carry out—that there shall be greater frankness on the part of the India Office in future. I have now to ask the Under-Secretary of State the second Question standing in my name—whether he can give any information as to the riots at Katarpur last year when, it is stated, a mob of 3,000 Hindus murdered a number of Muhammadans, burning some of them alive, and destroyed their village.

There is a very great difficulty at the present moment in watching events in India. I do not know whether the Censor is still at work, but I see in private letters allusions to happenings which never appear in our public Press, and it does not seem to me as if we were not quite sufficiently informed as to what is going on in India. Since it was known that the Secretary of State would make large concessions to Home Rulers there have been certain distinctly unpleasant symptoms in India. There were riots in the three great Presidency towns, and in all cases there was some evidence of political inspiration. As to Bengal, the Government of Bengal itself has said so in its resolution as regards the very serious disturbances in Calcutta. As

regards the strikes in Bombay it has been denied, but in a private letter from an Indian who was behind the scenes and who also did his utmost to preserve tranquillity, these words occur—

“Home Rulers were abroad in the mill centres, instigating and assisting the strikers, and asking them to hold on.”

In Rangoon troubles were planned, but were apparently frustrated by the action of Government. Other disturbances have taken the form of organised attack by Hindus upon Muhammadans. To the worst case of that kind the House has already had its attention drawn. That was in Bihar when an area of 1,000 square miles was held up by the rioters for several days. Something of the same kind appears to have occurred at Katarpur on the occasion of the last Bakr-Id ceremonies. From the little I have heard of that case it does seem as if effective steps were not taken in sufficient time, but that impression may be wrong, and if so, doubtless the noble Lord will correct me.

In other cases disturbances which might have been serious have been averted by the prompt action of British Officers. There is some significance to be attached to these happenings, and that significance must not be ignored. The number of Indians who really understand what Home Rule means is, in proportion to the population of India, very small, as the Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State admitted. But there is not a bazar in all India where stories that Government is weakening or that Government is afraid would not be understood and would not be believed. That, I am afraid, is what is going on, and in a telegram from Delhi which *The Times* published yesterday there are these words.

“The Extremists appear to be animated by blind hatred of the Civil Service, which constantly finds expression on the platform and in the press. The existence of this rancorous sentiment accentuates the difficulties of the political situation.”

I really fear that the gross calumnies against the Government of India and against everything British which are rife at the present time are becoming a source of growing danger to the peace of India.

Lord Sinha.

My Lords, with regard to the second Question on the Paper, in so far as information has been asked for by my noble friend, I shall proceed to give that information at once. As regards comments, with your Lordships' leave, I will reserve them until I have given the narrative of facts. This Question relates to riots which undoubtedly took place in a village called Katarpur in September

last. The information which has hitherto been received by the India Office from the Government of India has been by cable, and is therefore necessarily meagre. I would have contented myself with giving your Lordships the bare facts as received by us by cable from the Government of India, but I thought it would give satisfaction and to the members of your Lordships' House if I were able to give a fuller account from any other source that was available, and I have accordingly compiled one from a newspaper account of the opening speech of counsel in the prosecution which has arisen out of this case in order that your Lordships may have fuller information as regards the facts.

A serious riot took place in the village of Katarpur, in the sub-division of Roorkee in the district of Saharanpore, on September 18 last, and it is alleged that in the riot at least thirty Muhammadans were killed, sixteen injured, and a large part of the village burnt down. The circumstances which led up to the riot extended over a series of some days. The village is one in which, according to the latest census Report, there were 538 Hindus and 238 Muhammadans, and there is a mosque, or idgah as it is called, in the village. The surrounding villages were in the main what might be called Hindu villages, and the town of Kankhal (also chiefly Hindu in population) as well as the great place of pilgrimage, Hardwar, is also within a few miles of the village of Katarpur.

On September 11, the Bakr-Id festival of the Muhammadans being close at hand, the police moved the sub-divisional magistrate to bind over the leading Muhammadan and Hindu villagers to keep the peace during the Bakr-Id festival, which extends from September 17 to 19 inclusive. They did so, inasmuch as there seemed to be a controversy—which is the usual controversy in these cases—as to whether Katarpur was a village in which cow sacrifice at Bakr-Id was customary or not, and it therefore seemed necessary that precautions should be taken. On September 13, owing to the intercession of local officers, the parties appear to have come to an arrangement by which it was agreed that sacrifices should be quietly performed in the houses of two of the Muhammadans of the village. Later on, however, this agreement is alleged to have been repudiated by the neighbouring Hindus, with the results that on September 17, the first day of the Bakr-Id, a crowd numbering thousands arrived at this village armed with big sticks. The local officers tried to get the people to come to some settlement but, failing to do so, wired to the sub-divisional magistrate at Roorkee to come to

the place and he arrived there on September 11, accompanied by a number of police constables. He found an excited crowd moving about in groups. It was when the local magistrate was present in the village that suddenly some cry was raised which seemed to be the signal for a general attack by the Hindu on the Muhammadans, who were fewer in number, and the huts in the Muhammadan quarter were set on fire by groups of Hindu rioters. The fire stopped in the afternoon, and in the meantime an armed guard had been wired for from Roorkee. This guard arrived, and no further rioting took place. It is said that seventeen corpses were found by the sub-divisional officer, either burnt or partially burnt, and some more corpses were found later inside Muhammadan houses. A number of arrests were made later, and about 100 persons are now on their trial. At the proposals of the Local Government, a Special Tribunal constituted under the Defence of India Act, 1915, presided over by Mr. Justice Tudbull of the Allahabad High Court, was set up for the purpose. The Government of India has promised to telegraph the result of the proceedings as soon as they are finished. Those are the facts with regard to the rioting.

I do not for a moment seek to minimise the significance of these riots; but your Lordships will have noticed that this particular riot in any case had nothing whatsoever of a political character about it. Unfortunately it is correct to say that these outbursts of religious fanaticism are still common in India, and on the occasion of these festivals, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, you find rioting taking place between the two factions of those communities. It is confined to the lower and poorer classes and, after all, the real remedy for this state of things is the progressive enlightenment and education of those classes, and the closer co-operation of the educated and wealthier classes in both communities for the purpose of getting rid of or preventing these disturbances. This riot had no political significance whatever, as I have already said, and I confess that I am surprised that the noble Lord took this as an occasion to point a moral with regard to the grant of Home Rule, which no one has yet suggested so far as I know, or anything in connection with that. Nor, if I may say so with regard to the three other riots mentioned—in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Rangoon—is there any reason to suppose they had anything to do with the proposals for constitutional reform, or any reason of a political nature of that kind.

Your Lordships are aware that during the course of the war there has been considerable excitement amongst the Muhammadan

population of India, an excitement which has in some cases and in some Provinces been shared by the Hindus. But to say that any of these riots can be justly ascribed either to the proposals for constitutional reform or to the supposed weakening of the Government, is, I submit, saying something which is not borne out by the facts. So far from the Report, of which so much has been said by the noble Lord, ignoring occurrences of this kind, as I read it—and as I believe most of Your Lordships will have read it—the Report lays special stress on the fact that these religious dissensions still exist, that these religious riots still occur; and it is for that reason principally that they refuse to allow any controll to the Legislative Councils over the departments of government which are concerned with the administration of justice and the preservation of law and order. Therefore it seems to me at any rate, and I submit it with confidence to your Lordships, that to connect these riots—which have existed I am sorry to say for many years; long before any constitutional reforms were thought of—with the Report, or with the supposed concessions which are alleged to be going to be made, is somewhat far-fetched and unfair, if I may say so, with great respect to the noble Lord.

After all, human nature being what it is, outbursts of this kind, however much we may deplore them, will occur from time to time. In countries blessed with one of the noblest religions, one of the most civilising and humanising religions known to the world, we find people fighting with each other, and we find them doing so not for any supposed spiritual benefit but for mere material benefits; and, after all, when these Hindus and Muhammadans fight on the occasions of these religious festivals, they are fighting, not for material benefits, but for what they believe to be the interests of their eternal souls. The only remedy is a closer co-operation of the official with the more educated people for the purpose of spreading enlightenment and education amongst those poorer classes, and the more the people of the country co-operate with the Government and with the official of the Government the greater will be the checks and safeguards for the prevention of these deplorable occurrences.

House of Commons—Mar. 19, '19.

Lajpat Rai.

Colonel Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for India whether the Indian patriot, Lajpat Rai, may yet be permitted to return from America to this country.

Mr. G. Terrel.—Before the Right Hon. gentleman answers, may I ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is quite in order to describe a person of doubtful character as an Indian patriot in a question ?

Sir H. Craik.—And may I ask, Sir, whether it is not the case that the person whose name is in the question was deported for seditious and treacherous conduct in India ?—*Colonel Wedgwood.*—He was not deported.

The Speaker.—I don't know anything of this. Everybody calls himself a patriot in these days. (Laughter). *Mr. G. Terrell* asked whether Regulation 58 in Manual of Procedure did not provide that a question may not contain any argument, inference, imputation, epithet or ironical expression and whether the expression in the question did not offend the rule in every way ?—

Commander Bellairs (Maidstone, C. U.)—And may I ask, on a further point of order whether the hon. member is entitled to have ten starred questions on the paper (cheers), and may I point out that he has already asked four supplementary questions ? (Laughter). *The Speaker.*—The remedy is not to call the last two questions on the paper. (Laughter.)

Mr. Fisher.—President of the Board of Education who said he had been asked to answer the question on the paper, replied—The answer is in the negative. If my hon. and gallant friend will repeat his question on the signature of peace, Secretary of State will be glad to consider the matter further. (Cries of "Why ?").

Colonel Wedgwood.—May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether he would take advantage of the opportunity to contradict the allegation (cries of "Order") that this patriot was deported ? (Renewed cries of "Order.")

No answer was returned.

Famine Conditions in India.

Mr. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for India if he had any information as to the extent and intensity of famine conditions now prevailing in India ; how far the winter rains had fallen short of the average ; how many persons had availed themselves of the relief works opened by the State ; how far the present prices of staple food grains were in excess of the normal ; and whether such prices show any tendency to decline.

Mr. Fisher : "Famine", in the technical sense that relief works have been opened, had been declared in one district in Bombay and in parts of two other districts in the same Province. There is dis-

tress of a less severe character in several other districts in Bombay and the Central Provinces, in two districts in the United Provinces. In November and December there was in India, as a whole, a serious deficiency in the rainfall, resulting in failure of the autumn crops over wide areas and restricted sowings of winter crops. The latter have benefited considerably by fairly general rain. There are about 43,000 persons on relief works. The number is kept down by the good demand for labour on private account. The increase in the price of food grains has varied in different parts of India. As far as can be judged from the figures that have been received, the average increase over normal prices would appear to be about 50 per cent. Prices have not as yet shown a tendency to decline.

Sir J. D. Rees asked the Secretary of State for India whether recent seasons in India had been bad, and, if so, how many in succession; whether the fact was that, owing to the Government system of famine relief, the population in India were saved from suffering and death resulting from successive bad seasons; and whether it was desirable that the use of the word "famine" should be abandoned, such famines as existed being of money and not of food, which, either by purchase or by gratuitous Government distribution, was always available.

Mr. Fisher : The Secretary of State does not think it is the case that recent seasons in India as a whole, have been bad. During the War, until the failure of the monsoon rains of 1918, the harvests have been generally good. The relief systems established in India is intended to, and does in fact, alleviate privation and its effect on the death rate. "Famine" in the Indian relief codes is now a technical word, denoting that the point has been reached at which the full machinery of relief is started. The term is well understood, and the Indian Government prefer to retain it.

Sir J. D. Rees : Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that though the technical signification of the word "famine" is well understood in India it is totally misunderstood in England and is it not perhaps desirable that its use should be discontinued?

An Hon. Member : Will the right hon. Gentleman say what is the annual income of the ryots of India, who form the main bulk of the population?

Mr. Fisher : I must ask for notice of that.

Limitation of Rowlatt Bill.

Repling to Mr Wedgwood in the Commons Mr Fisher stated

that Mr Montagu has requested the Govt. of India to supply as soon as possible a return of the number of persons interned and imprisoned without a trial in India during the war and the number released since the armistice.

Replying to Mr Rees Mr Fisher stated that Mr Montagu was unable to add anything to the Viceroy's reply to Goalior's address in the Dēhli Conference. Mr. Yate affirmed that the Govt. of India in proposing to limit the Rowlatt legislation to three years would throw an unfair burden on their successors owing to violent agitation that certainly would arise against the renewal of legislation at the end of 3 years. Mr Yate suggested that Mr Montagu should suggest to the Govt. of India the advisability of reconsidering the proposal. Mr Fisher replied that Mr Montagu did not propose to adopt the suggestion.

Rowlatt Bill.

In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Swan, Mr. Fisher stated that the Secretary of State regretted that the existence of the anarchical revolutionary movement in India necessitated the passing of a new Crimes Act. He emphasised that this action had been taken after careful consideration on the avowed advice of an influential representative commission, and the Government of India was satisfied that it was essential to peace and security that Government should be armed with these exceptional powers to be applied only in areas where anarchical and revolutionary crime was proved to exist. The Secretary of State was not prepared to disregard the finding of this Commission and the views of the Government of India, by advising His Majesty to disallow the act. Mr. Fisher emphasised that this legislation did not reflect on, and its necessity was not affected by, the splendid loyalty of Indians generally and it would affect only a small portion of the population to which it applied.

Demobilisation of Indian Army.

In the House of Common replying to Mr. Ramsden Mr. Fisher stated that the Indian Army was demobilising as rapidly as circumstances permitted. About a quarter of a million combatants had already been discharged. It was proposed to retain with colours in India a force sufficient to provide for normal requirements of India and to keep up the strength of Indian troops employed in the occupied territories and Colonial stations. Demobilisation within practicable limits was favoured by the Govt. of India and public opinion in India.

Replying to Mr. Yate Mr. Fisher stated that any gratuity granted to British and Indian army officers at the termination of war would be payable to the estates of deceased officers.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE ON INDIAN MATTERS.

On April 1, 1919 a meeting was held of Members of Parliament interested in Indian Affairs. It was decided to form a strong Parliamentary Committee (non-official) to assist in the passage of the Bill for Indian Constitutional Reforms, and to afford full facilities to delegations from India to state their views in public and in proper quarters. The committee appointed consist of Sir J. D. Rees (Chairman), Mr. Bennet (Secretary), Mr. A. M. O'Grady, Sir G. Collins, Sir S. Hoare, and Mr. O. Gore.

House of Commons—Interpellations—April, 1919.**Indian Army—April 3.**

Mr. Mallalieu urged the claims to demobilisation of men belonging to the Mesopotamian force who were detailed to Poona early in November to assist in clearing up field accounts of troops.

Mr. Fisher replied that prompt settlement of the accounts of a large number of officers and men on demobilisation depended on trained personnel. The Military Accounts Department was being kept up to full strength. The Secretary of State could not press the Government of India to a course that would destroy the efficiency of the Department, but he would bring the case to the Government of India's notice.

Replying to Sir J. D. Rees, *Mr. Fisher* stated that the question of the postwar strength and composition of the army in India was under consideration.

Sir J. Rees enquired about the strength of the army after demobilisation in the East.

Mr. Churchill : Indian troops in the Middle East, Egypt and Palestine and in Mesopotamia were being reduced to 206,50, 42,750 and 63,000 respectively. These figures were the establishment of Indian troopers which were being maintained in armies of occupation.

Colonel Yate suggested that in view of the large number of British troops in these theatres who ought to get relief, demobilisation of Indians who had more recently enlisted ought to be less rapid.

Mr. Churchill replied that the composition of all our forces depended on a certain proportion being maintained of British and Indian troops, and this must be done irrespective of the relative claims of British and Indian troops to demobilisation.

Kut Officers—April 5.

Lord Wolmer asked what provision had been made for Kut officers taken prisoner who had incurred large expenses from private means in order to keep themselves alive.

Mr. Froster referred to the arrangements for issues from British relief fund by the Dutch Minister in order to cover extra expense. Where officers could show that the necessary expenses exceeded the amounts of such grants besides advances by the Turkish Government, any claim which might be submitted showing extra expense would be favourably considered.

Railway administration—April 2.

Mr. Fisher in reply to a question by Sir J. D. Rees stated that Mr. Montagu had proposed that as soon as convenient after the war there would be an enquiry in India regarding the desirability or otherwise on administrative and financial grounds of modifying the present management of Railways in India which were owned by the State, but worked by Companies domiciled in England, by incorporating the lines in existing State-worked systems, or converting them into separate State-worked lines or handing them over to Companies domiciled in India.

April 9

To a question by Mr. Bellairs *Mr. Fisher* in reply stated that the Secretary of State was not aware that the standard of efficiency in Indian Railway Administration was relatively low or that famine relief measures were impeded by the inability of Railways to carry supplies but with a view to ascertaining what improvements were possible he had already arranged with the Government of India for a comprehensive inquiry by the Committee into the whole question of management. The Committee would doubtless take into account any legislation dealing with transportation that Parliament might enact and would consider whether similar arrangements were applicable to India. The Secretary of State entirely agreed with the questioner regarding the necessity for avoiding Departmental competition.

Replying to Mr. Bennett, *Mr. Montagu* pointed out that the original scheme for the Indian Railway Board had been modified in the light of experience. It had been found desirable to introduce a non-railway element in view of the administration and financial problems with which it had to deal, and the Presidentship was open equally to Railway and non-Railway members, but he thought that the composition of the Board would necessarily be reviewed in the forthcoming enquiry into the management of Indian Railways.

Southborough Report—April 2

Mr. Fisher, replying to Sir J. D. Rees, stated that the Report of the Southborough Committees had not yet been received from the India Government. Mr. Montagu hoped to receive them in the course of the current month and would present them to Parliament without delay.

Delhi Riots—April 8

Mr. Fisher, in reply to Sir J. D. Rees about the Delhi Riots, read a telegram from the Viceroy, dated 31st March, detailing the Riots at Delhi on March 30 last. He added that the Viceroy reported a few days after that there had been no trouble elsewhere up to that date.

Protests against Rowlatt Act—April 10

Mr. Fisher, in reply to a question by Mr. Spoor, stated that Mr. Montagu had received numerous telegrams from individuals and associations praying that the Crown would disallow the Anarchical Crimes Bill, but no telegram purporting to be from the Moderate party as such had been received.

House of Commons—Interpellations—May, 1919.

Indians in Fizi—May 1

Mr. Montagu in reply to Mr. Bennett stated that he was communicating with the Colonial Office regarding the urgent need for ameliorating the surroundings of indentured Indians in Fizi. He had also communicated to the Colonial office the resolution of the Indian Legislative Council of 11th September, but the cancellation of indentures was not in itself a remedy for the evils complained of. The dearth of shipping would at present prevent the return of released immigrants to India.

Silver Crisis in India.

Mr. Gwynne drew attention to Sir J. Meston's account of the silver crisis in India last year, and what steps Mr. Montagu was taking to avoid such a contingency this year.

Mr. Montagu replied that he had been consulting the Government of India and he proposed to appoint a strong committee to consider and advise him on the difficult currency and exchange problems which were the legacy of the war.

Indian Police

Colonel Yate asked :—As the safety and welfare of Indians largely depend on a loyal and contented Police, will Mr. Montagu suggest to the Government of India the advisability of immediately considering increase of pay to the lower ranks of the provincial Police.

Mr. Montagu :—The question is one for local Governments.

Indian Deputation—May 5

Colonel Yate drew attention to complaints in India regarding the grant of priority certificates to members of Indian deputations proceeding to England in connection with the Reform scheme.

Mr. Montagu replied that the Government of India, in giving facilities to the representatives of different political parties in India to visit England in connection with the Reform Scheme, were discharging a definite obligation which they undertook for good reasons last year when the war was still in progress. The number of Members in each delegation was being kept within very close limits. He felt sure that the Government of India in making good their promise did not neglect the claims of other classes of the community. As demobilisation was temporarily suspended in India some additional shipping accommodation for civilians would probably be available.

Leprosy in India—May 7

Mr. Montagu replying to Sir John Rees stated that he was advised that medical opinion was divided with regard to whether leprosy was contagious in all its stages. So far as he was aware no amendment to the Indian Leper Act was contemplated. *Mr. Montagu* also stated that he had not yet received the report of the Indian Cotton Committee, but advance copies were en route.

Public Service Commission.

Replying to *Colonel Yate* with regard to the proposals of the Government of India to carry out the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, *Mr. Montagu* stated that the proposals to increase the pay of the police and the medical service had been carried out and proposals for the reorganisation of the Forest Service and the Financial Department and interim proposals with regard to certain officers in the Educational Services were under consideration. The Government of India's other proposals had not yet been received.

Change in Reforms Policy—May 12

Sir J. D. Rees asked :—Since the Armistice, has there been any change in the policy or attitude of the Government with regard to constitutional reform in India or any other important matter arising from or connected with the pronouncement of August 20th. 1917 :—

Mr. Montagu replied : none whatever.

Passage to Indian Deputation.

Mr. Montagu in replying to a question by *Mr. Yate* about priority certificates granted to Indian Political Delegates in preference to Englishmen and Women, stated that the 347 first class passengers

on the Ormond included only six Indians. There were 607 second class and third class passengers, and no Indians. He was informed that third class accommodation was exceptionally good. The Company had made especial efforts to secure comfort for the third class passengers and undertook that they would have the same mess and use the same deck as second class passengers. Their cabins were fitted with electric fans. He regretted that two children had died on the voyage from pneumonia. He emphasised that every effort was being made to provide sufficient accommodation for passengers from India. He understood that the Government of India was satisfied with the amount of accommodation, and there was nothing wrong in granting passage to the Indian Delegates.

Mr. Yate pointed out that priority certificates were given to Indians while there were women and children in the third class (cheers).

Mr. Montagu replied.—*Mr. Yate* does not regard the passage of Indian Reforms through the Commons as urgent. I do.

The Indian Budget—May 15

Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Indian Budget would be taken on May 22nd.

In the Lords, replying to Lord Sydenham, Lord Peel stated that a despatch from the Viceroy containing opinions of Provincial Governments on the Montagu-Chelmsford report would be formally presented within a week and copies would be ready soon afterwards.

India's War Expenditure—May 19

Mr. Fisher stated in reply to *Mr. Griffiths* that including the hundred million war contribution the war expenditure of the Government of India up to 31st March was about £127,800,000 sterling. A further contribution was proposed by the Government of India and was at present under consideration. Indian princes and others had contributed £2,100,000 sterling in cash, besides placing at the disposal of the Government of India considerable further sums for the purchase of horses, motors, comforts for troops, etc.

Col Yate suggested that in view of its good work in war time the Central Publicity Board should be continued.

Mr. Fisher replied that the Board was formed to give the people of India correct information in regard to the war, and now that peace was in sight, its functions were ended.

Indian Educational Service.

Mr. Fisher replying to *Mr. Rawlinson* stated that no definite promise regarding revision of pay and terms of the service of the

Indian Educational Service had been made though the need for improvement was recognised. An inquiry in this connection had just been completed and the Government of India was still considering the results. Meanwhile the Government of India proposed certain provisional relief measures which had been sanctioned and which would shortly be announced in India.

Mr. Fisher, replying to *Mr. Wedgwood*, stated that *Mr. Montagu* had already taken steps to ensure that the Indian Army would be represented as adequately as possible in the Peace celebrations. The Indian troops in France were insufficient to enable a procession to be formed in London similar to the Dominion processions.

Allowance to I. C. S.—May 21

Sir J. D. Rees asked. Is it necessary for the Government of India to retain the maximum of a thousand sterling a year furlough allowance for Civil servants ?

Mr. Fisher replied that the Government of India had made no proposal in this matter, but he would have an opportunity of considering it when he dealt with the leave recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

The Indian Budget Debate.

Mr. MONTAGU'S SPEECH.

House of Commons—May 22, 1919.

The Secretary of State for India (Cambridge CL.) moved that the Speaker do leave the Chair in order that the House might go into Committee on the East India Revenue Accounts. He said: 'This is the sixth time it has fallen to my lot to initiate the discussion on the Indian Budget, and I devoutly hope it may be the last. This is the first time in the history of Indian affairs in my memory that the House of Commons has agreed to the discussion of the Indian Budget so early as before the end of May, and I take that as a happy prelude to the day when we shall have substituted for this meaningless process of Budget debate a more proper procedure of debate on the India Office Estimates. As regards the financial situation in India, I will merely say that the currency position was a source of great anxiety to the Government throughout the War, and is now causing us renewed anxiety owing to the increase in the price of silver, which has necessitated a rupee of 1s. 8d. It is a difficult matter to decide how long we shall go on purchasing silver in a rising market, and I have decided to appoint a new Currency Commission to investigate the situation caused by the rise in the price of silver and the limited world supply. I propose to publish the names of that Commission in due course; they will be representative of British and Indian Commerce, and they will be presided over by Sir Henry Babington Smith, who has kindly consented to offer his unequalled knowledge to this very responsible body.

The Position in India.

I will try to sketch the position in India to-day. If we were considering only the position of India *vis à vis* the great nations of the world, the situation is a bright one. After having taken up the challenge which Germany and her Allies presented to the civilised world, after having devoted her invaluable troops and her resources to the Allied cause, India has won for herself a place in international discussion equal to that of the British Dominions and greater than the position occupied by any Power in the world, except,

of course, those who are colloquially known as the "Big Five." Not only has she separate access to the Peace Conference, not only have her representatives received from the King power to sign on his behalf peace with His Majesty's enemies, but as members of the British Empire Delegation they share in the task of concerting the policy of the British Empire. I can only say on behalf of my colleagues His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir and Lord Sinha, and of myself, that we have devoted ourselves in Paris with all the more concentration to the interests of the Indian Empire because we realise we are the representatives of a people not yet, unfortunately, self-governing.

It must have been a satisfaction to the House of Commons to learn that India was to be an original member of the League of Nations, and that Indian representatives are to sit in the far-reaching and important Indian National Labour Organisation which is to result from the Peace Treaty. These things, together with the place occupied by my friend and colleague, Lord Sinha, in the House of Lords, commit Parliament to the view that this position is only justified if you can raise India to the position of a sister Nation in the British Empire, and is wholly inconsistent with a position of subordination. I must go one step farther. I would say, our Colleagues who have sat with us round the Conference table representing the great Dominions of the Empire, that the position of equality which they have given to the representatives of India is wholly inconsistent, in my humble opinion, with the treatment of the citizens of India in British Dominions—

(*Colonel Wedgwood* :—South Africa.) In South Africa or anywhere else—in a position which puts them lower than the citizens of any other part of the British Empire.

The war with Afghanistan.

Now I turn to India herself. There the position is not so satisfactory. Having come through the War with a record which will compare well with the record of any other country in the world, we find now a country in mourning. Rebellion and revolution have appeared internally. War has broken out afresh on her frontiers. I would invite the attention of the House to an analysis of the causes, to a description of the state of affairs, and to a suggestion as to the remedies. I am not going to say very much about Afghanistan. It is now quite clear that the new Ameer, having achieved the Throne, has in a moment of almost suicidal folly authorised an unprovoked attack upon the territories for which we are responsible. His motives are doubtful. They must be partly attributed to the unrest which exists throughout the Muhammadan world, partly to a pathetic

effort by the worst possible means to consolidate his position on a shaky Throne, partly to the emissaries of that dark and murderous doctrine which battens upon unrest, feeds on discontent, spreads disorder wherever it shows its head—Bolshevism and the Bolshevik emissaries of Russia. (An Hon. Member—"And Germany, too") All these have played their part, and the result was inevitable. I shall publish daily as I receive them reports on the military situation. It is not necessary for me to say that we desire nothing in Afghanistan but the friendly relations with a neighbouring country which we had when Afghanistan was ruled by that wise statesman Habibulla, who was so recently and treacherously done to death. We desire peace and no interference, but we do intend to exact stern and just punishment for the raids and invasions perpetrated by unscrupulous forces on the peoples under our protection, and explanations and withdrawals of the strange messages we have received from the present Ameer.

The Internal Situation.

Now, as to the internal situation in India I propose to deal frankly with the trouble, but I do so with this word of preface—the danger is not past, it exists; it is not something that is finished; it threatens. I shall charge myself with the task of saying nothing that will fan the flames or increase the grievous responsibility of those whose first duty it is to restore order. Those who govern India, those who wish her well, those who desire for her peace and progress speak at a critical time in her history. I feel sure I can appeal to all those hon. members who will take a part in this debate to recognise, as I think the whole of India has recognised, that the first duty of the Government to-day is to restore order. It is not necessary to exaggerate the situation. Let us look first at the reasons we have for rejoicing. Riots involving the destruction of life and of property have occurred in certain parts of the Presidency of Bombay, in the province of the Punjab (extending over one-tenth of the area, and involving one third of the population), on one occasion in the city of Delhi and to a minor extent in the streets of Calcutta. There has been no trouble in Madras, in the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, nor in Bihar, Orissa or Burma. In Calcutta the Bengali had little or no share in the trouble at all. Throughout India, generally speaking, the country districts remained quiet, and the trouble was confined to the towns.

I would ask this House to join with me in an expression of sincere sympathy to all those who have suffered in these disturbances. There has been the loss of much property and of many

innocent lives. There have been, as doubtless will be revealed when the whole story is told, many stirring deeds of heroism. These events have shown the unshakeable, undismayed, loyalty of India as a whole, and there have been striking incidents of the co-operation of the Indians in localising the trouble, and in using efforts to restore order. This does not detract from the fact that Englishmen in no way connected with the Government and in no way responsible for the deeds—misdeeds or good deeds—of the Government, have lost their lives and have been foully murdered. Official Indians and non-official Indians have been done to death. Even many of the rioters deserve our sympathy, for when these things occur the man who loses his life as a result of a soldier's bullet is as much the victim of those who promoted the riots as those who are killed by the rioters themselves.

Indian Army Organization Inquiry

In these circumstances the Indian Army to a man and the Indian police, despite attempts to promote insubordination and indiscipline, remain without a single stain upon their reputation or a single unpleasant incident. (Hear, hear.) This is a tribute to the men who have won renown on all the fields of War, who played so conspicuous, indeed the main and predominant part in the defeat of one of our enemies, Turkey, but it is also a tribute to the officer of the Indian Army who has shown his great capacity for leadership. I see opposite me my hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Yate), whom, I think, I can describe as the member for the Indian Army, who has done so much, both publicly and privately, to remove the troubles and to champion the cause of the officers of the Indian Army. May I digress for a moment to say to him, with special reference to the amendment he has upon the paper, that both the Government of India and the India Office are of opinion, that now that the War is over there must be an inquiry by the best military organisations that we can obtain, to improve the organisation of the Indian Army with a view to removing grievances as to promotion and opportunity, and with a view to modernising, bearing in mind the experiences of the War, its organisation. The Government of India are devoting their attention to an investigation of the grievances as to pay, pensions, and leave, upon which I hope to give further information to the House. (Hear, hear.)

(Colonel Yate.—Thank you.)

I turn now to the British Army. When the trouble occurred the elements of the British Army remaining in India, having done duty there throughout the war, some of them faced with another

hot season in India, going back in the expectancy of early demobilisation, agreed to stay to help in the restoration of order. I do not think there will be any doubt about the welcome which the British troops will receive at home wherever they have been doing duty through the War, but for these men, in these circumstances, I would ask that those who have a welcome to offer, or an opportunity to afford special treatment and special consideration, will avail themselves of that opportunity when these men come home last of all. (Hear, hear.)

The Causes of Unrest

What were the causes of these troubles which have resulted, so far as I can make out, in the loss of nine European and 'something like 400 Indian lives? I am not going to deal with the obvious, with the reaction from the strain of the War, or with the general unrest which is current throughout the world, but I want to deal with the direct causes, economic and political. The economic causes are very considerable. India has suffered this year, for the first time, I am glad to say, for some years past, from a failure of the rains. There has been in consequence great diminution in food supplies and prices have risen to a very great extent indeed. People have gone short of food despite the strenuous efforts made by the Government to ensure better distribution and to make available grain from Australia. Further than that, two other things have accentuated the distresses. Recruitment for the Army has gone on in parts particularly affected by these disturbances with such zeal and enthusiasm that I think there is reason to believe many a family was left without its breadwinner and consequently the area under cultivation has been diminished. Lastly, there was that scourge of Influenza, which removed many of the most vigorous people in the prime of life, because this disease seems to have attacked by preference people of the bread-winning age. Between five and six million people died of Influenza in India last winter. Between 50 per cent and 80 per cent—on an average two-thirds—of the total population suffered from Influenza during the visitation of this plague, with its consequent removal from industry or from agriculture, which is more important, and the enfeebling after-results. These, I think, are the main economic causes.

Now I will turn to the political causes. I put first among the political causes the perturbation and perplexity caused to the Muhammadan world by the discussions arising out of the defeat of Turkey. This subject was discussed in the House last week *a propos* of Egypt. Very much the same circumstances exist in India,

where Indian soldiers, including among them their best Muhammedan soldiers, claim that they have had a predominant part in the defeat of Turkey in full confidence that the War was a war of liberation and equality of treatment, of National settlement and of Self-Determination, and when they read rumours and acts, which led to a fear that our Musalman enemy will be partitioned up to satisfy conflicting claims, when they read that this part is to be allotted to this European nation and that to another—mere rumours, but alarming rumours—when they read that, as a signal of victory, there are those who advocate the reconsecration of an important Muhammadan mosque, is it to be wondered at that there are signs of unrest among the Muhammadan people of the world? (Cheers.)

The Rowlatt Act.

I now come to two other political causes—causes more indirect because they only affect the politically minded part of the population, but causes which must be reckoned with. One is a fear, based upon the ceaseless activities of the Indo-British Association, that the Reforms promised on August 20, 1917, will not be carried out in an acceptable form. There is an association formed with the most laudable motives, which has carried on a ceaseless campaign against those reforms ever since the announcement was made. It has slandered and libelled whole sections of the Indian population. It has very often hardly paid to the facts the respect to which facts are entitled, and it has provoked the suspicion that the British Parliament intends to go back upon that pronouncement, or at least not to carry it out in an adequate way. Lastly, there is the Rowlatt Act, which has caused widespread—I would almost say universal—opposition throughout India—Let the House make no mistake. The Rowlatt Act was throughout India a very unpopular Act. I have read from end to end all the debates which took place upon the Rowlatt Act, and I am not here to apologise for it. I am still convinced that in the circumstances, as passed, as it is now on the Statute Book, as it has been left to its operation, the Rowlatt Act was necessary, ought to have been passed, and could not have been avoided.

Evidence accumulates every day that there is in India a small body of men who are the enemies of Government; men whom any Government, bureaucratic or democratic, alien or indigenous, if it is worthy the name of Government, must deal with. I cannot do better, in describing this body of men, than quote the words of a very great and distinguished Indian, Mr. Gandhi. There is

no man who offers such perplexity to Government as Mr. Gandhi, a man of the highest motives and of the finest character, a man who his worst enemy, if he has any enemies, would agree is of the most disinterested ambitions that it is possible to conceive, a man who has deserved well of his country by the services he has rendered, both in India and outside it, and yet a man whom his friends—and I would count myself as one of them—would wish would exercise his great powers with a greater sense of responsibility, and would realise in time that there are forces beyond his control and outside his influence who use the opportunities afforded by his name and reputation. My hon. and gallant friend (Colonel Wedgwood) will realise that Mr. Gandhi is not the only man who, despite the most laudable motives, sometimes shows a lack of political wisdom.

Colonel Wedgwood.—I should be quite content if I had Mr. Gandhi's virtues and powers.

Mr. Montagu.—Mr. Gandhi has himself said about these things—he was deploring as, of course, he would do, the acts of violence which have occurred—that “He realised that there were clever men behind it all and some organisation beyond his ken.” That is the real revolutionary, the man who lurks in dark corners, whom nothing can locate or convert, who is subject to the influences of organisation ramifying throughout the world with its secret emissaries and influences, men who are a danger to any country, and against whom the Government of India are determined to do unceasing battle until they have been extirpated. (Cheers) The defence of India Act has helped us to do much with regard to these men. No one in this House will accuse Lord Carmichael of being a stern, unbending bureaucrat. These are his words :—“The Defence of India Act is what has helped us. I am only saying what I believe to be absolutely true when I say that the Defence of India Act has helped to defend the young educated men of Bengal as nothing else has defended them, not their own fathers, not their teachers, for they were ignorant, nor their associates, nor they themselves, for they were blind to the danger.” Under the Defence of India Act a certain number of these people have been dealt with. The greater number of the persons were mainly required to live in their own homes and not to move without permission. The Act is comparable to our own Defence of the Realm Act and was passed for the duration of the war only. Under it 1,600 people have been dealt with of whom nearly two thirds have subsequently been released, leaving at present 464 subject to restraint. All the cases have been investigated by a Commission of Inquiry consisting of Mr. Justice Beechcroft and Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, and in all the

cases which they have investigated they have found the Government was justified in the action they took except in six cases.

Problem of the Government.

The problem before the Government of India was this. Were we, when peace was restored, to rely on the ordinary law as it existed before the Defence of India Act was passed, or was it necessary to take any new steps? We did not decide that by correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, but we appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the facts. It was presided over by an English Judge Mr. Justice Rowlatt, whom I asked to go out there. His associates were two Indian Judges, one an Indian and one an Englishman, an Indian Civil Servant, and an Indian lawyer in a large way of practice. They presented, after full investigation, a unanimous report, and the facts which they brought to light have never been challenged. (Cheers) It is their recommendation which has been carried out in the Rowlatt Act. Does the House mean to suggest to me that, confronted with this evil, having considered the situation arising out of the end of the Defence of India Act, having appointed a Committee for this purpose thus constituted, having got from it a unanimous report of this authority, that we were to say we would disregard their advice and do nothing? It has been objected that this Commission was entirely legal, that they were all lawyers, and that a different result might have been obtained if some other element had been upon the tribunal. Our anxiety was to try to rely entirely upon legal processes rather than upon executive action. What better tribunal can you have to advocate the sweet advantages of the law than lawyers? The fact added, to my mind, to the importance of their findings.

The Purpose of the Act.

Let me shortly describe the Act which is based upon their recommendation. First of all it is not in force anywhere. Does the House realise that? It will never be in force unless the circumstances which justify it occur, and then it would be unflinchingly used. It is divided into four parts, and the application of each part depends upon declaration of the Government of India that in different degrees anarchical or revolutionary crime exists.

Sir D. Maclean—Do I understand that the India Defence of the Realm Act is considered to be sufficient to cover the Indian difficulties until the War ends, and then that the Rowlatt Act or acts would, if necessary, being on the Statute Book, be put into operation?

Mr. Montagu :—That is absolutely correct. It was stated several

times in the debate by members of the Government of India, that they had no intention of using the Rowlatt Act until the end of the War. Under the first part of the Bill, when the results of anarchical or revolutionary movement are comparatively mild, nothing is suggested but the speeding up of the ordinary legal processes. Under the other two parts of the Act, where anarchical or revolutionary movements are giving cause for grave anxiety or are prevailing to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, then the local government may deprive a man of his liberty not as punishment but as a preventive, and intern him for a prolonged period. But in that case the local government first of all has to submit the case to a judicial officer to advise them upon it. It is not until they have received his report that they take action, and within a month of having taken action, they must submit the whole case to what is called an investigating authority, consisting of three individuals, of whom one shall be anonymous, to go into the whole case afresh and see that the Act has not been misapplied. That is, roughly speaking, the machinery.

Colonel Wedgwood :—These people to whom appeals are made have to decide the question not on the grounds of justice or injustice, but on the grounds of expediency, I presume ; on the ground of whether the authority who ordered the man's internment believes that he was a danger to the State without any specific crime being alleged against him. It is a question of expediency, I understand, and not justice that has to be decided by the Appeal Court.

Mr. Montagu :—No, they have full authority to go into the whole matter. They would be able to advise the Government whether it is right and proper that this man should continue to be interned.

An Hon. Member :—Is it correct that in that case he is deprived of any legal assistance ?

Mr. Montagu :—Yes, sir ; under Part I of the Act he has legal assistance, but under Parts II and III there is no legal assistance. This is not a law court but a committee of inquiry. It is more like a schoolmaster investigating trouble in a school, a committee of a club using its friendly services for the purposes of inquiry, somebody to explore all matters, somebody to see that injustice is not done, somebody to be sure that all the facts are investigated.

The first objection to the Act is that we have in existence far more drastic powers than we take under the Act now and therefore what was the necessity for it ? That is so. Martial law, the power of ordinance, the Defence of India Act, Regulation 3 of the Act of 1918—all these are infinitely more drastic, infinitely more sum-

mary, and out of the mouths of our own critics I claim that we have made no new outrage upon the liberty of the subject in India. We have merely perfected and improved the long-established method of dealing with these abuses, something which gives some guarantees to the individual that the powers will not be misapplied.

Next it was said in the debates, "Why do you come here for legislation? Why do you not proceed by ordinance? Why do you not enact by a decree of your Government?" Is it seriously to be argued that, instead of proceeding by full discussion in legislative council, without an opportunity of discussion or amendment you should enunciate an ordinance? I do not think that can seriously be argued by anybody with a sense of civic responsibility. I presume that what is meant is that there is no difference between legislation by ordinance and this legislation, which was passed by an official majority in the teeth of non-official opposition. I claim that the Bill was vastly improved by the discussion which took place in the Legislative Council, and I should like to pay a tribute to my hon. friend Sir William Vincent, the Home Member, for the courtesy and parliamentary ability which he displayed in the uncongenial task of passing this legislation. The two most important alterations that were made were that the Bill was limited to three years, and that the name we altered to make it quite clear that it was only to be used for anarchical and the revolutionary movement. The Government of India have been criticised ever in this House for consenting to make the Bill temporary. Why did they make any concessions in the Bill? Is discussion not to be of any use? Are there not occasions, even in this House, where a private member is right and where the Government is wise enough to see it?

Not a Permanent Measure

This Bill was never intended by the Government of India to be a permanent measure. It was introduced in a permanent form, but I hope everybody will look forward to its being unnecessary and to its eventual repeal. The Legislative Council were right in saying that this sort of legislation can only be justified by the existing circumstances of the case, and no Government is entitled to put a statute of this kind as a permanent measure upon the Statute Book. If you can justify previous action by what has occurred subsequently, there are dangers that justify this emergent and exceptional power at the period of the close of the War, with all the difficulties of peace, and when Bolshevism, even though its attractions are waning, is still a force to be reckoned with.

I appreciate to the full one of the arguments which was used in the debate on this matter. It is objected by the non-official member : "Though you seek this instrument for dealing with anarchical and revolutionary crime, you will use it for all sorts of others. You will use it to stifle legitimate political discussion. You will misuse it." I profoundly sympathise with that, although I do not believe that there is any foundation whatever for this attitude. Drastic powers of this kind, safeguarded though they are in the hands of the Government, may make, if they are misused, administration, for it is not Government, too easy for the moment.

The Government of India again and again made all the pledges possible to eradicate this evil. I will repeat them. This Act will not be used except to cope with anarchical and revolutionary movement. There is no danger whatever of its being used for any other purpose, and if you think it is being used at any moment or at any time you will always have, I hope, the reformed Local Government and the large Legislative Assembly and the Select Committee of this House to safeguard the liberties or rather—because there I do not think there is any danger—to convince Indian public opinion that the powers we have taken have not been misused. Then comes the next objection : "Try the man openly in a Court of Law, and if he is guilty of these crimes produce him in the Law Court, let him stand his trial openly with lawyers to defend him, and then sentence him to the punishment he deserves." Is there any man in this House who does not sympathise with that plea in theory? Does not everybody hope, the Government of India as much as anybody, if not more, that the time will come to India when you can contemplate recourse to Judicial and not Executive remedies for dealing with evils which are in this country dealt with by Judicial Courts. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions in India has long been a much advocated and canvassed question. I do look for the day when we shall have a complete separation of Legal and Executive functions. I do hope the day will come when we can substitute for executive action the ordinary remedies of the law. But does anybody think that that day has come now any more than the achievement of Self-Government itself? What is the position at this moment? You cannot get witnesses. You cannot get a fair trial in cases of this kind in a court of Law. These revolutionary conspirators have proved over and over again their ability to intimidate those who give evidence against them, and those who have served the Government in exposing these conspiracies have been murdered, shot, have lost their lives for their action to such an extent that the only possible way of dealing with these cases, provided you once accept the

responsibility of Government and of the protection of life and property, is by eradicating these anarchical movements by private investigation.

The Beachcroft Report.

I would like to quote on this subject the report of Mr. Justice Beachcroft and his colleague. They say that the records before them proved conclusively that the revolutionary organisations were secret conspiracies which had spread to different parts of the provinces, had entered homes, schools, and had reduced the secrecy of operations almost to scientific methods. The conspirators had pledged their members to the closest secrecy of operations, had pledged their members to the closest secrecy under pain of instant death by murder in the event of disclosure. That was one of their methods, and every attempt to deal with the situation before the Defence of India Act was brought into force for the fair trial of persons accused of revolutionary crimes had been rendered practically impossible by the murder of witnesses, approvers, police officers, and law-abiding citizens suspected of having given information to or otherwise assisted the police in the detection of revolutionary crime. A situation of terrorism had been created. The current of truth and justice was disturbed so as to prevent a fair, open and impartial trial in an ordinary Criminal Court, with the result that approvers and witnesses would not come forward to give evidence openly lest they should be assassinated.

It is impossible to resort to open trial. I cannot agree that it is not the duty of the Government to use every method to cope with this danger. We intend to maintain order in India and to safeguard it because we believe that is the only atmosphere in which nationality can grow uninterruptedly, surely, and swiftly. I quote the opinion of one who cannot be described as a thick-and-thin supporter of the Government in India and all that is done by it—Mrs. Besant. She has stated in public that the Rowlatt Act as amended contains nothing that a good citizen should resist. But this Act need never be used if there is no occasion to use it.

Alternative Policies.—The Remedies

I have described the causes which have led to the existing conditions, and I come now to what I venture to suggest are the remedies. There seem to me to be two alternative policies. The first is to do nothing, to ride the storm, to stifle political aspiration by the Rowlatt Act and comparable legislation, and to prevent those who would stir up strong political ambitions from speaking in India or in

England, to give the advocates of reform no opportunities for laying their case before the Government at Home, to keep leaders from the platform, to govern by emergency legislation through the police. That is what I believe is called in clubs a firm and strong Government. Sir, we are not dealing with a cattleyard. (Hear, hear.) We are dealing with men and thinking men and business men, who desire opportunities for developing their aspirations. That policy is the sort of policy which is described in some eloquent words by the man under whose leadership I entered the field of Indian politics. Morley said this:—"Shortcomings of Government lead to outbreaks. Outbreaks have to be put down. Reformers have to bear the blame and reforms are stopped. Reaction triumphs and mischief goes on as before, only worse." That is not the policy of His Majesty's Government. It is not the policy that I am here to advocate. There are, I believe, in India some men, opponents of all Governments, who are incurably evilly disposed; there are others whose grievances must be investigated with a view to removing their cause. Much has been done recently. The letters addressed to me and to other people show that among the young and misguided men whom it ought to be our constant effort to reform, new hope is arising. The steadily increased association of Indians with the affairs of Government, such small reforms as the grant of commission in His Majesty's Army to Indians, and the removal at last of the racial discrimination in the Army Act Schedule—all these will have their effect and are having their effect. More than this is required.

Inquiry Contemplated.

Questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an inquiry. The Viceroy has always contemplated an inquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this kind and of this magnitude without an inquiry into the causes of and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances but no announcement has been made of any inquiry up to this moment,—for this reason: let us talk of an inquiry when we have put the fire out. The only message which we can send from this House to-day to India is a message which I am sure will be one of confidence in and sympathy with those upon whom the great responsibility has fallen of restoring the situation. Afterwards will come the time to hold an inquiry, not only to help us to remove the causes of the troubles, but in order to dispose once for all of some of the libellous charges which have been made against British troops and those upon whom the unpleasant duties in connexion with these riots have fallen.

I was asked a question yesterday about Mr. Horniman. Governments in India have been very patient with Mr. Horniman. In no case has there been a better example of our reluctance to interfere with mere eccentricities of political belief. But when this gentleman began to use his paper in the middle of riots resulting in loss of life, to spread and to fan the flame, and opened his columns to an accusation that British troops had been using soft-nosed bullets in the streets of Delhi, and when his paper was being distributed free to British troops in Bombay in the hope of exciting disaffection and insubordination, why then I say that it was high time he left India. (Here, here,) (Colonel Wedgwood :—Why not prosecute him ? And another Member.—Why not shoot him ?) In normal times he would have been tried and there was a strong case to put before the law courts. Riots were occurring, and prompt and swift action for the restoration of order was necessary. He was an Englishman. This is one of those cases in which I should hope nobody would ever suggest any racial discrimination. An Indian would have been deported. An Englishman, upon whom far greater responsibility certainly rests, cannot be tolerated in India if he is responsible for the occurrences which we associate with Mr. Horniman.

Then with regard to the Muhammadans, I can only say, speaking for myself that I cordially sympathise with the cause of their perturbation. I and my colleagues in Paris persistently and consistently at every opportunity afforded to us, right down to Saturday last when we discussed the question assisted by three representative Indian Muhammadans with the Council of Four (Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, Mr. Clemenceau, and S. Orlando, the persons charged with the drafting of the Peace treaty), have advocated these views and explained these terms. If you want contented Muhammadan feeling in India you can achieve it only by a just peace based on considerations of nationality and Self-Determination for Turks within the Turkish Empire. I would reassure my Muhammadan fellow-subjects by saying that throughout all the peace discussions in Paris there has never been one word, authorized or unauthorized, to indicate that anybody is foolish enough to want to interfere with the question, which is a purely Muhammadan question, of the Caliphate. I would go further and say that I do not believe that any holy place or any building which is consecrated to a particular religious faith at the present time is in any danger of being interfered with in consequence of the Peace. Further, we must give to the Muhammadans of India a fair share in the representation on public bodies in India, as we are enabled to do in consequence of Lord Southborough's report.

India Against Free Trade

Now as to the economic causes. Part of the economic causes can be dealt with only by searching medical and scientific investigations. It always seems to me that Influenza, despite its terrific deathroll, is never treated with the respect which its toll on humanity deserves; but the history of India in the last winter makes it necessary to devote all that is best in science to combat the recurrence of so hideous a calamity. More than that, we want to increase the resisting power of the Indian people: we want to improve the conditions under which they live; and I have no doubt whatever that the only road to that is the development of India's industrial capacity and resources for the benefit of India. The Industrial Commission which reported will bear fruit. Sir Thomas Holland is on his way home to this country, and we shall take action upon the Industrial Commission's report as soon as the members of my Council have an opportunity of conferring.

But there are some questions outside the report to which I would venture to draw attention. India went short of many necessary commodities during the War when sea communications were interrupted. The educated people of India, almost unanimously, have been for years past discontented with their fiscal policy. I am a Free Trader, but I have always held that Free Trade should be achieved by a nation at its own risk, and not be imposed on it from outside by another country (Hear, hear.) There is no doubt that the educated people of India are not Free Traders. If they were given fiscal liberty I think they soon would be; but let them find their own salvation. Let them find what in their opinion suits their destinies best; and I say that if we in this country slide towards Protection, you may be quite sure that among India's mass of industries and occupations they will find their creed, and they will demand, as they have demanded for years past, the fiscal liberty which we enjoy in this country.

The promised Bill.

Lastly, I am more than ever convinced that we must now proceed without delay to the introduction of the promised Bill for the alteration of the Government of India. The pronouncement of August 20 must be made to live. I am authorised to say this afternoon that the Cabinet have consented to my introduction, on their behalf of a Bill which will be introduced, I hope, at the beginning of June. There is now no longer any reason for delay. Lord Southborough's Committee have reported and have shown that we can get an electorate in India 157 times as big as the present one, which is

good to begin with. Mr. Feetham's Committee have reported and shown that you can divide the functions of the Government of India from those of the local Governments, and thus admit of the long-desired decentralisation, and that of the functions of the local Governments. There are many and substantial functions that can be entrusted at once to the charge of representatives of the peoples of India. I have every reason to hope that when a start of that kind has been made the rest of the local functions of the local Governments will follow. The Bill which I shall introduce, therefore, is only awaiting two events—the recommendations of Lord Crewe's Committee as to those changes in the India Office which will require statutory enactment, and the publication—which I hope to have next week—of the despatches of the Government of India and of the local Governments upon the Report. When these documents are published it will be found—I do not want to anticipate discussion—that the majority of the local Governments do not like that portion of the Montagu-Chelmsford form of Government which is known as the Diarchy and they have said so very forcibly. After they had written their letters of dissent the heads of the local Governments went to Delhi and conferred with the Viceroy. As a result they produced an alternative scheme, which will be published next week, and it is endorsed by the Governments of the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Assam. The Governor of Bengal and the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa prefer the original scheme. The Governors of Madras and Bombay were not represented. The dispatch of the Government of India, it will be seen, seems to me to be a striking defence of the original scheme, and invites Parliament to reject the alternative scheme proposed by a majority of the local Governments. I do not want to anticipate the second reading debate upon the Bill, which after it has been introduced according to promise, is to be referred to a Joint Committee of both Houses, who will hear evidence and discuss the alternative, and upon whose recommendations I presume the House will ultimately form judgment.

The keystone, the whole basis, the vital point of Indian reform to day is the transference of power from the bureaucracy to the people, gradual if you like, but real at every stage. I cannot bring home better to this House what I mean by the essence of that than to ask them to consider the situation in this country. During the War Parliamentary Government has been diminished and executive control has been substituted. I read in the papers every day a demand that our lives, our occupations, our businesses should be free from executive control. The only difference between the complaints here

and in India is that in India nobody suggests that executive control is exercised by too many officials ; it is done by a singularly few ; whereas the complaint here is as to the number. But nobody questions the single mindedness, the ability, the devotion to duty of the officials to whose power we in this country, now that peace is restored, so much object. What we demand in this country is that officials should govern, not merely for our good but on our behalf ; should carry out the orders of Parliament, and be responsible to Parliament, Parliament alone deciding upon them.

That is where the grievance in India lies. There is, believe me, a passion for Self-Government. Nobody questions that it must come gradually, but I say that at every stage the transference of power must be real and substantial. It must be definite and concrete ; it must be beyond the reach of the personal generosity of character or the suspicious nature, of the autocratic temper or the easy-going disposition, of the particular incumbent of any particular Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship. You must transfer the power from officials to people. You must make a beginning, and you must go on doing it. That is what is meant by the progressive realisation of responsible Government. There is a great part to play for the Civil Servant, English and Indian, in India today, greater almost than the great part he has played in the past. But so far as responsibility for policy goes the pronouncement of August 20 meant nothing if it did not mean that the power of directing policy should, first in some things and then in others, until finally in all, be transferred to the elected representatives of the people of India.

Therefore I am going to oppose, and I shall ask the House to oppose, any colourable programme which leaves an irresponsible Executive confronted with a majority which they have to oppose or defer to at their will, on all or any subjects, as they choose. That is not responsible Government, and if that is the only alternative to diarchy, Diarchy holds the field. Therefore it will be seen that the Bill I shall introduce, I hope shortly, will in substance carry out the proposals which the Viceroy and I submitted to Parliament a year ago. It will be seen in the despatch of the Government of India that certain amendments have been suggested. Of those amendments some have been incorporated in the Bill ; others I shall invite the Joint Committee to decide against.

Do Not Do Less.

After reading all the criticisms to which I could gain access, after considering all the amendments for improvement which have come

to my notice, I have this to observe. The scheme which the Viceroy and I submitted to the people was elaborated after discussion with all the local Governments, with many officials and non-officials, after prolonged discussion with the Government of India. I remain now of the opinion which I expressed last year in this House, that we require all the assistance that the Joint Committee of Parliament can give us to improve our suggestion, to find a better way even yet of carrying out the policy of His Majesty's Government, to making amendment of our proposals.

But I did not sign my name to that document in the belief that it was either a minimum or a maximum. I believe it embodied the extent to which Parliament ought to go. Do it differently if you like, find other methods if it please you, but I beg of you do not do less. You cannot put before the world a scheme which is elaborated over the signature of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and then do what is called in India whittling down the scheme. (Hear, hear.) Amend it, alter it, turn it inside out, start on a new route, but I beg of you to go as far, and so long as I hold the office with which I am now entrusted, so long as I remain a member of this House, I will ask the House not to pull bricks out of, but to build on, the foundation recommended to the extent of the scheme in the report which the Viceroy and I laid before Parliament.

The policy which I have attempted to advocate is the policy which many, I think all, of my predecessors have advocated. It can be summed up in a sentence. I would put first the maintenance of order; secondly, a searching and tireless effort to investigate the causes of disorder and discontent, to remove those which are removable, to eradicate the sources of disturbance and disorder, and go on with a determination, courageous, unhesitating, zealous, to make of India what may be very loosely described as a union of great self governing countries, entrusted with the custody of their own well-being, partners in the great freedom-loving British Commonwealth. That is a task in every way worthy of this Parliament, to my mind the only conceivable outcome of the unexampled and magnificent work that has been done by British effort and enterprise in India. (Cheers.)

The Budget Debate, 1919.

Sir D. Maclean said the House was indebted to the right hon. gentleman for his wise, statesmanlike, and sympathetic speech. Speaking on behalf of his friends on that side of the House, they would like to bear their tribute to the magnificent part which India had played in the great War. In men, in material and in money she had shown herself a worthy sister of the great community called the British Empire. (Cheers). He heard with very great pleasure that the Government proposed to introduce their Bill to carry out not in any niggardly spirit, but in a broad and generous spirit, the recommendations of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. He sincerely trusted that its relegation to a Joint Committee would not result in the long hanging up of the measure, for on it lay the real, the only hope of maintaining India as part of the Empire, and of bringing her fully into the sisterhood of nations which constituted the British Commonwealth. He did not deny that repressive measures were necessary in India to-day. His small information would make him very careful of anything like sweeping denunciation or accusation against the Executive in India. But the one thing that carried Lord Morley through a difficult time was that he accompanied the necessary assertion of public order by wide measures of reform. The Secretary for India's only chance of success was to ensure that before the Rowlatt Acts came into operation the beneficent influence of the reforms which had been indicated should be at work.

Sir J. D. Rese, (Nottingham, E. C. U.) said the Indian Civil Service had governed India for more than the ephemeral occupants of Vice-regal and provincial thrones, but that epoch was fast passing away, and it was futile and useless to stand against the new order of things. It was perfectly useless to weep over the passing of the old state of affairs, and he for one would not refuse to recognise that we live in a new world—a world created by the war. The voice of faction had been stilled in India during the War; she had loyally stood by her pledges to us, and we must fulfil the pledges given her by this country. India's example had been of the utmost benefit to the Empire. He hoped that when fresh arrangements were made with Afghanistan a subsidy would form no part of them, as Asiatic regarded a subsidy as a tribute. He entered a strong plea for main

taining the independence of Turkey. Dealing with the question of Constantinople, he deprecated a division of the great Muhammadan power of Turkey into petty little republics, and thought it was a gratuitous aggravation to talk about making the Mosque of St Sophia into a Christian Church ; not much more reasonable than it would be to talk about restoring Druidical remains in this country. (Hear, hear). He would leave Palestine to France, to deal with. All that we want was Mesopotamia which we own and should keep for our safety in the Persian Gulf, and the approach to India, and for the safety of the great oil sources which the British owns—one of the most profitable, most patriotic and most satisfactory deals that was ever made by a British Government.

SPEECH OF Dr. E. HOPKINSON.

I hope the House will extend to me the indulgence it usually extends to a Member addressing it for the first time. Perhaps I have some excuse for taking part in the Debate, seeing that I am the only Member of the House who was also a member of the Indian Industrial Commission. There is one statement made by the Secretary of State this afternoon which will give the utmost satisfaction not only in this House but also in India. It was that the labours of that Commission are not to be set aside or lost sight of, but that the recommendations will be fully considered now that the chairman Sir Thomas Holland, is in this country.

If there was one thing more than another which became abundantly clear during the investigations of that Commission, it was the deep interest taken by the Indians themselves in the improvement of the Industrial position of India. The Commission had unusually good opportunities of ascertaining not only the physical possibility of increasing the industrial wealth and improving the industrial position of the country, but also the attitude of the Indians themselves towards those ends. We had as our President Sir Thomas Holland, a man of ability, who knew India perhaps better from the point of view of the natural resources of the country than anyone else. He had himself served in the Government of India, and had brought the Geological Department of the Government of India to a degree of efficiency second to none in the world. We had also on the Commission four Indian members, three of them great leaders of industry in India, and the fourth a politician pure and simple—I will not say with no interest, but with comparatively little intelligent or instructive interest in the industries of India. We had also on the Commission two or three members of the Civil Service of India,

and myself, of whom it cannot, at any rate, be said that I was tinged with any preconceived notions from the Indian point of view.

Vivid and Vital Impressions.

I do not desire to weary the House by referring in detail to the findings of the Commission and the recommendations contained in their report, but I would like to refer to some of the most vivid and vital impressions which resulted from our investigation. No more striking impression was made upon the minds of all of us, even those who knew India well, than the enormous potential wealth of the country. Though the wealth is there, buried in the soil or ready to be extracted from the soil by the natural processes of agriculture it is scarcely developed compared with what it might be.

The reason is not far to seek. Let me cite agriculture, first of all, as an example, because it perhaps more clearly than any other branch of industry shows what might be done compared with what has been done. The wealth of India is primarily due to its agriculture. The Government of India has a scientific agricultural staff in quality second to none in the world, but in quantity ludicrously insufficient compared with the problem which it has to tackle. It is the third country in the world in the extent of its production of wheat and barley, but where the production of wheat and barley is represented by twenty per acre in England, in India it is only represented by eight. It does not seem to me a very great thing to suppose that by the application of scientific methods and research that figure of eight might be changed into ten, and that would mean millions of sterling to India.

Take another illustration. India produces more sugar than any other country in the world, but the consumption is so great and the methods, so wasteful that it actually spends ten million sterling annually on importing sugar that other countries produce.

The Indigo and other Trade.

Let me take one other instance in connection with agriculture. I think it is the most striking of all. Before the invention of synthetic indigo by the Germans, the cultivation of indigo was one of the most flourishing industries in India. We are aware how by patient and scientific research, and the expenditure of money yearly upon research, the Germans displaced the natural indigo of India by the synthetic product. The trade was absolutely killed. During the War there was a revival of the industry, and that revival was brought about by a series of investigations in regard to the preparation of the natural product. It was given in evidence before the Commission by one of the most experienced planters in Behar that he would

undertake to grow indigo now on his plantation, taking advantage of all improvements and to sell it at pre-war prices at a profit. That means, and I wish the House to take cognisance of the fact, that the pre-war German trade in indigo could be killed outright on its merits. Is not that a striking fact? Does it not make it worth while that the recommendations of the Committee should receive serious consideration at the hands of the Government of India and of the right hon. Gentleman, the Secretary of State?

Before I pass from agricultural questions I want to emphasise the need that the scientific department of the Agricultural Department in India should have more money spent upon it, and that it should be enlarged. What is required is that brains should go out from this country to help in the scientific work. Reference has been made by one of my hon. Friends to the supply of Tungsten. That is a trade which before the War had passed entirely into German hands. Under the pressure of war it has come back into British hands. India could produce all the tungsten the world requires, and all that is needed is practical development of the trade. There is another metal, Thorium, a most important metal, one essential for the production of gases. The trade in that, too, was allowed to pass into German hands.

This country, by availing itself of its opportunities in India, could now become self-supporting in that regard. India possesses copper. The mines in Burma produce lead and zinc, and if there were only a concentration camp, it would be possible to obtain sulphuric acid which is a basis of many very important industries.

A Brighter Side.

Even that feature of the situation has a brighter side. Thanks to the assistance and sympathy of a Liberal Government on the scientific side, and not much of that, although the intention was really good, a great Tata firm were induced to set up iron and steel works, which have become one of the most flourishing and most important work in the world. India now can supply all the rail she wants and before long she will be able to supply our own needs. That has been done entirely by native effort and with the sympathy and help and the scientific advice of the Government of India. That is one of the fundamental things which the Commission desire to see extended and developed throughout India.

The Government should provide scientific help for research work, which is necessary for the development of the country industrially, and should also by sympathy expressed in various ways—it may be in improved transit or by help in the acquisition of land—I

could suggest a dozen different ways—help the development of industrial India. Let me relate one instance to the House to show the attitude of India itself towards this aspect of the Commission. An Indian witness before the Commission made what appeared to me to be a curious statement. He said the Government of India should pass a law providing that half the directors of every company should be Indian. It appeared to me that that might be due to jealousy of British industrial methods in India, but on examination I found that it was not so.

The real idea was that the Indians should be taught how to work and manage the various undertaking. It was desired to convert every board of directors into a school. The idea of course is ludicrous, but the statement was significant as showing the trend of the Indian mind towards industrial measures.

Manufacturing Industries.

The manufacturing industries of India are obviously divisible into two classes—those already developed, such as the great jute industry of Bengal, the cotton industry of Bombay and to some extent the woollen industry of Cawnpore. There are a number of other industries, such as the manufacture of glass, cement and matches. There are also the chemical trade and the manufacture of paper, both of which are still undeveloped for want of technical knowledge and expert advice.

What the industries of India require is not British capital, but British brains. They need expert advice, and scientific knowledge applied to the latent resources of India will bring forth a harvest of a hundred fold. But that is not the whole story. Other factors must also be taken into account. Indian labour must be considered. In the course of our inquiry we made careful investigations, not only into the remuneration of Indian labour, but also into housing and sanitary conditions. If the problem of labour is acute in this country, it is ten times more acute in India. I say that advisedly.

Wages in India.

The rate of wages in India is far too low for tolerable subsistence. Industrial conditions in India in many cases, and I have particularly in mind the cotton mills of Bombay, are so monstrously bad that I could hardly relate to any decent assembly of people what I myself saw in the course of my investigations. Although a Lancashire man, I greatly admire the action which the predecessor of my right hon. friend the present Secretary of State took with regard to the cotton industry, but I do wish he had taken

that opportunity of throwing upon the Bombay millowners the onus of improving the housing conditions of their work-people. I believe, and I say it advisedly after conversing with a great number of the mill-owners, that the best are perfectly ready to shoulder the burden if they are assured it will be distributed over the whole. And there again is a brighter side to the picture.

The new steel works of the Tata firm to which I have already referred are in all matters of housing up to date in every possible respect. Each cottage has its garden, each coolie line has ample space around it, and the water supply is perfect, and yet that firm in spite of all its expenditure in that direction, is able to pay a dividend of 200 per cent.

That sort of thing cannot be done in India without cost, but the cost amply justifies itself. You may go to other places and find conditions equally good. I myself investigated the conditions in one of the largest mills in Bengal. That mill was able to make a selection of labour by drawing it from a very much larger area, simply, because that firm had the reputation of supplying pure water, indeed it was nicknamed "Mill Pure Water." Not only was the water good, but the housing conditions, the coolie lines, and the sanitary arrangements were all in first-rate condition and up to date. So much impressed was I by what I saw at the mill, that that evening, when I met the then Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, who retired a year ago, I suggested to him that it would be an encouragement to mill-owners if he at once made an inspection himself of that particular mill.

I made the further suggestion, which he at once adopted, that he should take with him the leader of the Home Rule movement in India. Next day the Governor and the Pandit (Malaviya) motored up to this mill to inspect the sanitary arrangements. That is an example of how the Government of India can show sympathy with, and give effective assistance, without any cost to itself, towards putting the industrial conditions on a higher level.

An eye-opener to Pundit Malaviya.

My friend the Pundit was not at all pleased with the result of the expedition. It always troubled him to find that the British of their own accord and with nothing to reap from it were usually ready to put all questions relating to the health and welfare of their people in the first place.

Another no less important matter is the question of education. The educational system in India is a most extraordinary structure ; it is fitted with a magnificent coping and balustrade, but it is built

on sand. India is an absolutely illiterate country. Over 90 per cent. of the people can neither read nor write.

Indian Universities.

India possesses magnificent universities, which turn out graduates by the thousands yearly. Take the University of Calcutta where abuse became so great that it was made the subject of a special inquiry. What does that University do for India? It does nothing but turn out by the thousands annually persons who have been drawn off from the real interests of India and turned adrift to find a living in other directions.

I asked an Indian who was giving evidence in Calcutta what became of the graduates of that University. His answer was a striking answer coming from such a source. He said, "A very few of them become pleaders, the great majority of them become clerks; and those who have not the ability or opportunity to become clerks become sedition mongers." That was the considered opinion of a practical industrial Indian of one of the universities of his own country. That problem is not insoluble. I can give an instance of another side of the picture, which I should like to put before the President of the Board of Education in this country.

If you go to certain mills in Madras, there you will see elaborate, comfortable, delightful, buildings put up for school purposes. Residing in these buildings are two English ladies. The buildings are used for housing classes formed of the children of the people who work in the mills. There is no compulsion. The schools are always full. The children are absolutely free to attend or not to attend. Around the schools are gardens. Every child—the scholars are numbered by hundreds—has his plot of land which he cultivates as he desires, and he takes the product of his cultivation home to his own people.

For brightness, alertness, respectableness and cleanliness these Indian children would compare with the children of similar age in any school you like to name in this country. Yet these very mills were chosen by the political dissentients to foment strike and trouble. That was not because there was any real grievance. The reason for it was that they could not stand such an object lesson of what British people have done for Indians to be always before the eyes of their people.

I am well aware that after the announcement of 30th August, 1917, there can be no question of turning back from the policy which was then declared. It must go forward on lines which the Government, after the fullest consideration, determined to be the best. But I beg the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take into

consideration that it is more important to feed the hungry than to give them political rights, that it is more important to clothe the naked than to invest them with political doctrines and dogmas, and that it is more important to educate the people to be able to vote than it is to give them the vote.

What will be the effect of the franchise? It is estimated that the number enfranchised will be anything from 1 or 2 up to 5 per cent. The greater part of that number will be illiterate people. I presume the voters will be taken blindfold to the ballot boxes or that, as an alternative, the ballot boxes must be embellished in some way to show what they contain or are intended to contain. I presume that one box will be embellished with the Union Jack, another with the Crescent, and another with the emblems which are familiar at every roadside shrine in India.

I rejoice in what the right hon. Gentleman says of the recommendations of this Industrial Commission, which have solely for their object the improvement of industrial conditions of India, and to make India more profitable and more fit for the Indians themselves to enjoy living there, which I trust that no political considerations will be allowed to cloud.

Colonel Wedgwood began by saying that he was "shocked to find that" Dr. Hopkinson "is such a gross materialist". Freedom and not the improvement of industrial conditions were "the ultimate object of British rule in India". How came it that the bulk of the Indian revenue was to be eaten up by the military, police, and railway programme in India, whereas education and irrigation were to be starved? Why was it that the Government of India were going to spend £23 million out of £24 million on "the purchase of railway material in Great Britain at a time when railway material is extremely expensive, at a time when it is possible to buy up our scrapped railways from France and other theatres of War at a price that would be extremely remunerative to the British Government". He contended that the "whole of the budget bears witness to the fact that it is one passed by Englishmen in India, and not one to which Indian people would agree," and that it "must give rise to the feeling that, in spite of all our brave words, the government of that country is directed rather towards the interests of this Island than to the interests of the country where the money is raised by people who have worked hard to find it".

The proposals for constitutional reform are defective because they conceded very little power over the purse to Indians, and did not transfer the police and other vital subjects to Indians. He considered that the Southborough Reports really whittled away the Montagu

Chelmsford Report. In recommending the enfranchisement of but 5 million men, on a property basis which was high for India, Lord Southborough left the lower middle classes in the cold, and whereas a considerable percentage of the electors would be illiterate, millions upon millions of literate Indians would be left voteless. He denounced the privileged position that had been assigned to the plutocrats, and to Europeans, Eurasians, and native Christians. The vote that was being given to "every pensioned officer and non-commissioned officer" would "establish a sort of permanent Varangian guard to see that the electorate shall never possibly be wrong". He particularly disliked the system of indirect representation recommended by Lord Southborough, and warned the Secretary of State against permitting the bureaucracy "to form a union with reactionary native elements in India that develop schemes which Indians may accept, but which in the long run will be bad for India".

Colonel Wedgwood's statement that the Rowlatt Act had been passed although the elected representatives of the Indian people "voted against it to a man," appealed to the House. The legislation was directed against men who were considered inconvenient—men like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Outhwaite, he himself, who some persons regard as "dangerous to society," but who really are "the salt of the earth".

If the British Government did more justice in India and followed less the behests of expediency "it would do good to the British name in future, and in the long run it would lead to happier relations between this country and India". He protested not merely against the Rowlatt Bills, but declared that "the Government must understand that the repression of these riots by means of bombs from aeroplane and machine guns have produced an even worse effect than the original passage of the Rowlatt Act". Sir Michael O'Dwyer had found the Panjab calm when he went there six years ago, and was bequeathing "to his successor a revolutionary spirit which runs from one end to the other". He told the House "that there should be an enquiry into not only the murders of English people," but also into those administrative acts—the "use of aeroplane bombs" the "arrest of men like Gandhi," and the "employment of the *agent provocateur* by the police force". He asked the House not to forget that the Indian National Congress did not wish permanent officials to be installed as Governors. What one "particular bureaucrat" had done to embitter "the relations between two great peoples" showed how very necessary it was to concede the Indian demand.

Mr. Bennett (Sevenoaks, C. U.) remarked that good effects would be produced in India by the introduction of the Indian Budget at this early date and by the determination expressed by the Sec-

Secretary of State to go forward with his projected reforms. If in India we firmly asserted the law on the one hand and on the other met the legitimate aspirations of the people and showed them that we were in sympathy with their progressive ideas, then he believed the problem would be solved. He resented the doubt which had been cast, or was sought to be cast, on the loyalty of the moderates in India. He paid a tribute to the successful policy of Sir George Lloyd on the occasion of the Bombay demonstrations on April 11. The situation on the morning of that day was most critical, but the troops and the police were instructed that no finger was to be lifted against the demonstrators unless disorder took place. A native paper stated that the police were regarded by the public as their friends almost for the first time in the annals of Indian administration, and the name of Sir George Lloyd was on everybody's lips.

An Amendment

Mr. Neil Mc. Lein (Labour) moved an amendment "that in the opinion of this House the operation of the two Criminal Law (Amendment) Bills which issued from the Rowlatt Report and which have been recently before the Indian Legislature should be suspended until this House has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. He was afraid that the position of the Government in India to-day was very much the same as in the past. He reminded Mr. Montagu that the Government of India was still "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for the modern purposes we have in view", and that the system of Government is still so "cumbersome, so designed as to prevent efficiency and change. If there were only 400 dangerous people in India out of 225 millions what was the necessity for that drastic legislation? He appealed to Mr. Montagu to disallow the Rowlatt Act, which, he asserted would be used to prevent Indians from demanding better conditions, and to appoint a Judicial Committee to consider the question and to let the Indian people know that the House of Commons at least would look on them as brothers and partners in the Empire. Mr. Spoor (Bishop Auckland, Lab.) seconded the motion.

Mr. Montagu in reply, regretted that he was still of opinion that as temporary measure the Rowlatt Act was necessary, and he could not accept the amendment. The Rowlatt Commission came to the conclusion that to deal with this particular form of revolutionary crime the ordinary procedure of law could not be relied on. He agreed that revolutionary movements could not be eradicated merely by legislation to deal with the guilty, but the Rowlatt Act was only to maintain order in the country while the great schemes of reforms were going through.

The amendment was negatived without a division. The debate was continued by Colonel Yate (Melton C. U.), Lieutenant-Colonel A. Murray (Kincardine and Western, C. L.), Mr. A. Shaw (Kilkarnock C. L.) and Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy (Hull, Central, L.)

Captain OrmsbyGore (Stafford, C.U.) was glad the Secretary of State was quite firm on the maintenance of law and order in India. He hoped that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme would become law at the earliest possible moment. He urged that when the scheme took the form of a Bill the measures should not be referred to a Joint Committee, but should go through both Houses in the usual way. Political reform in India must be accompanied by a real reform of the educational system and an effort to develop the resources of India. "Hitherto," he said, "by a fiscal system imposed by this country, suited to us, but not suited to or welcomed by India we have refrained, both in our fiscal system and to the prejudice on the part of the Government of India, from spending the revenue of India in the development of native industries and specially on technical education."

In his opinion the British "ought to encourage the wealth and prosperity equally of all parts of His Majesty's Dominions" "We are an Imperial Parliament," he declared feelingly, "and we must in this matter think Imperially" he pleaded eloquently "that there should be no further opportunity of India saying that England had selfishly imposed upon her a fiscal, commercial, and industrial system in her own interests, which is not in the interest of Indian development and Indian prosperity". This was well received by the House.

The House then went into Committee, and the financial resolution on the East Indian Revenue Accounts was agreed to.

INDIA ABROAD
1918.

MONTAGU'S CAMBRIDGE SPEECH.

Mr. Montagu delivered an important speech on Indian reforms at a meeting of the Cambridge Liberal Association on July 27, 1918. The audience included many Indians.

In the course of his speech he referred to Thyssen's pamphlet cabled on January 23rd and emphasised the Kaiser's declaration in it that India would be conquered by Germany, that the rich revenue of Indian princes would flow in a golden stream to the Fatherland, and that in all the richest lands of the earth the German flag would fly over every other flag. That was the German idea of imperialism, namely subjugation, domination, spoliation and theft. No wonder India had taken steps to protect itself. Half a million men would come into the Indian army in the coming year compared with 15,000 yearly before the war. He was glad to say it was not only as privates that Indians were enlisting. There were already Indian officers holding His Majesty's commission in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and they would be followed by others in substantial numbers.

How much more India could do for us and for herself now had her industries only been developed in the past! When India set out to make things like railway engines, trucks and even rails she found herself requiring machines from oversea which it was impossible to get on the necessary scale, and also skilled workers who were now so scarce all over the world. That state of things must end. One of the first duties of the Government of India must be to start and steadily promote a policy which would enable India more and more to supply her needs by her own efforts out of her almost immeasurable resources.

The Reform Report.

Referring to the Report he said: The educated Indian was taught in our schools by our teachers. He had learnt our ideals there and it was unjust to find fault with him when he asked what we had taught him to ask, namely, free institutions and self-government. Let us have it out once for all what was to be the

principle of our government in India. Was it to be domination,—subordination to the iron hand, where we have one principle of Government for India and another principle for the rest of the Empire? How had we built up South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Was not the principle of the British Empire the principle of a Commonwealth of free nations? Were we not to extend it to India? Was the ideal of our empire geographical, not moral? What if we said that to our American allies? What if when we talked of the British ideal of self-governing institutions we drew a line somewhere in the Indian ocean and said thus far and no further. That sort of theory was utterly impossible, utterly out of harmony with British ideas. During the past week he had been sitting with Patjara and Sir S. P. Sinha in the Imperial War Conference and War Cabinet. Indians were increasingly being put in charge of districts all over India. One of the most successful military hospitals in Mesopotamia was in charge of an Indian medical officer. All this meant that we were putting Indians into important positions right up to the supreme authority of the British Empire, namely, the Imperial War Cabinet. Had they ever known a case in the history of the British Empire when what was called relaxation of British control had not meant closer union of the country concerned to the rest of the Empire? Unfortunately India was at the moment not ready and disaster would await anyone wishing to give Home Rule to India to-day. The principle of our Government of India should be progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, as India proved to the satisfaction of the people of Britain and their representatives in Parliament that she was ready for it, until one day we should complete the process and India too would take her place as one of the free nations in the Commonwealth of Nations called the British Empire. That was the principle, that was the mission on which he went to India in order to advise the Government upon progressive realisation of responsible government within the British Empire, and that was the principle on which the report was founded. Would those who criticised the report ask themselves whether they admitted the principle? If they did, they could proceed to argue about the report; if they did not there was no weapon probably except personal abuse. If they admitted the principle he asked them to search their hearts. Some who said that they accepted the principle attacked the scheme which was intended to carry out the principle and would indeed attack any scheme because really in their hearts they did not admit the principle. Let them first admit the

principle and then examine the scheme dealing with the proposals themselves.

The only way to teach men to exercise vote was to give them one, and the only way to teach them to use the vote wisely and well was to give the people who were entrusted with power by the vote something worth doing. It was useless to ask a man to vote for his representative if that representative was powerless.

Their first step, therefore, was to suggest that there should be as wide a representative direct franchise in India as could possibly be devised.

Three Alternatives in Provincial Government.

Regarding the functions of the Provincial Government there were only three alternatives: Firstly, to keep them under complete official control. That would not be a move towards responsible government. Secondly, to give all the functions of Government to the Indians. That was not a move which we were justified in making to-day. Therefore the only remaining alternative was to give them some functions of Government now and leave others to be transferred to their control when we saw how they were getting on and how representative their new Parliaments were likely to be. He invited critics to tell him what other course there was.

He had seen one constructive idea, namely, to select a little piece of India and make it a republic under the control of political officers and if that went well to enlarge the republic or to have other republics. That scheme did not commend itself to him. It was advanced by people loud in the belief that India was not fit for self-government and they proposed to demonstrate it by giving to one unfortunate part of India what they professed to believe no part of India was ready for.

There were enemies of responsible government in India who would seek to make it impossible by bringing it about too fast. There were people who said that democratic institutions were impossible in the East and they pointed to Russia and Persia. *They did not often point to Japan.* Some people in India thought that they were not going far enough; the proposals had even been described as retrograde as increasing the power of the bureaucracy. It was only necessary to read the report to see that that was untrue.

No Distrust of the Indian People.

He could understand some Indians disregarding and discarding the proposals if they found in them what they were always suspicious of finding, namely, distrust of the Indian people. No such distrust existed in the minds of those who drew up the proposals. He did not believe any such distrust would be found in the proposals. He would explain on what the limitations and reservations in the proposals were based. They must look at facts. India was not yet, as critics in England were never tired of telling, in the true sense of the word a nation. There were differences of caste, religion and race accompanied by differences of objects and aims. It must be remembered that an overwhelming proportion of the people at present knew nothing of political institutions and could not read or write. I do not mention these things as matters of blame. They were things we want to help to remedy. If India was not a nation we want to see it a nation.

During the war from one end of India to the other one found the Indians keen about the defence against the invader—a new national and imperial spirit. One saw signs of a greater India, a greater desire for co-operation among different races of India, and we want to help this development by giving them a common task. But there are factors long operating which militate against joint action, and the Government ought not to be asked to disregard these factors and treat India as if it were comparable with any other part of the British Empire.

Fitness to be proved at the bar of Parliament.

Whenever India could prove at the Bar of the Parliament that these conditions were being cured, that education was spreading, that an electorate had been created, and that differences between races were disappearing, so surely under the scheme must Parliament give more and more power to Indians. If these limitations of time and experience were disregarded, he believed it would be fatal to the whole experiment. As the result of the proposals, he would see British control relaxed as Indian control was substituted, and he would see thereby the connection of love, affection and gratitude between India and England strengthened and increased. But the control must be Indian control, not the control of one section of the people, and must be exercised through representative electorates.

Some said it would be better to postpone it till after the war, but they would not say so if they favoured it. It was always the people who did not like a thing who favoured doing it to-morrow or next day. The pronouncement of His Majesty's Government was that substantial steps should be taken in this direction as soon as possible.

Scheme open to modification.

It would be arrogant to a degree of folly to say that the scheme as it stood had to be passed into law. Its authors submitted it with a full sense of responsibility for criticism. If anybody would suggest a better way they would find it in them and in the Government heartfelt thanks and ready acceptance. But whether it was by this way or some other way, we had to put the feet of India on the road to national good and self-government. Otherwise all the glorious work which generations of Englishmen had done to build up that great empire would lack its supreme vindication and justification. It would be said that what we had succeeded in doing in every other part of the British Empire, except for the moment unfortunately in Ireland, that what our forefathers, for example, Sir Thomas Monro and Macaulay, said that we ought to do, we had failed to do in India. It would be said of us that we went on untiringly in unimaginative but excellent regions of material well-being and prosperity, but that when we came in India alone to tackle the task of feeding man's soul by teaching him, equipping him, and giving him power to decide his own destinies, we were too timid to do it. That was a criticism which we could not risk in the judgment of history. It was a criticism which there was no reason to risk and he begged the people of Britain not to think that they could cut the knot by throwing India to its untrained people at this moment, nor by refusing to begin progressive realisation of responsible Government, step by step, giving the Indians opportunity and knowledge that they had only to prove that they had acquired the necessary habits and conventions of political life and responsibility to gain the whole measure which other countries enjoyed. If we did that, we made India for ever peaceful and we had a right to except from India for ever peace and contentment within the British Empire.

Montagu's Election Speech at Cambridge—Nov. 1918.

[In the course of his election speech at Cambridge delivered in Nov. 1918 Mr. Montagu said that he had a few words to say upon a subject of interest and importance to himself, namely, the pledge given to the great Empire of India through him and repeated by the Premier and Mr. Bonar Law in the Election manifesto recently issued.]

India's Part in the War.

During the War 1,161,789 Indians had been recruited and 1,275,338 men had been sent overseas from India, 101,439 of whom had become casualties. Nobody could say that India, owing to her sympathy with the Allies' cause and her belief in our ideals, did not, of her own free will, share our trouble and bear her part in our victory and show herself a partner in the British Empire as she must be treated in the future. If I am returned to Parliament it would be my principal endeavour to continue the work I have begun, to launch India securely along the path to Self Government. The proposals in the Report had not met with universal approbation.

Two Sets of Opponents.

The principal opponents belonged to two sets. Firstly, those who, like Mrs. Besant and her friends of the Indian National Congress, thought he had not gone far enough, and secondly, those who like Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association thought he had gone much too far. He had been greatly surprised to find the two sets agreed on one point, namely, that the proposals did conform to the principles of the announcement of August 20, 1917.

Nobody would be gladder than himself if he could feel that India today was ready for Home Rule but nobody, not even the extreme partisans, could say that India was ready for Home Rule to-day. He would not be concerned with the Government of India if he did not believe that if the Indians were given an opportunity of serving their country and working together, a growing sense of Nationalism would come. If he did not believe them, there would be no promise in these Reforms. All that could now be said was that there was a minority looking forward to the day when they could achieve what they, like himself, desired. He wanted Self-Government for India to be a success, and in order that it might be a success he looked forward to giving increased opportunities. The

safeguards did not mean mistrust. Contingencies must be provided for.

Lord Sydenham's Suggestions Ridiculed.

Lord Sydenham had made seven recommendations, the first six of which were taken from the Report. Lord Sydenham wanted a large increase in decentralisation; so did the report. He wanted direct representation, so did the Report. He wanted greater liberty for the Provincial Governments from the Central Government, but he could not give any power over the Provincial Governments, the Report would. Lord Sydenham wanted to give complete responsibility in local Provincial affairs; so did the Report; so did Lord Ripon in 1885. Lord Sydenham would be satisfied with giving what ought to have been given thirty years ago. For the rest he would take one or two districts in every province, remove the British Civil Service and put in the Indian Civil Servants and thereby he thought he would satisfy the pronouncement of August 20th. If such proposals were carried India would have every right to say that we had broken our pledges. If they must have a controversy on the Reforms he begged Lord Sydenham and his friends to conduct it in the interests of India and to recognise that everything else was of secondary consideration.

He had just been handed a circular from Lord Sydenham asking for subscriptions to the Indo-British Association as insurance premiums for British interests in India. That was not the way to build up an Empire. That was not a principle to be tolerated in consideration of this great Imperial question. British trade had done marvels for India, but he rested his case on the welfare of the Indian people. The interest of a Constitution could not be bartered for the interest of any trade. On this great question, they must decide between the spirit of to day and the spirit of 317 years ago.

Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Lansdowne in the House of Lords recently regretted his (Montague's) promise of responsible Government for India. It is even said that the Indian soldiers opposed this. Mr. Montague in this connection quoted a letter he had received from an Indian officer in Palestine. The officer declared that all sensible Muhammadans favoured the Montague-Chelmsford Report and proceeded.—“Things in India have changed very much and are rapidly changing. What I see in the Indian army to-day would scarcely be believed. Would

you believe that the Brahmanas, Rajputs, Sikhs and Muhammadans will dine at the same table without even a shade of caste prejudice? In the regiments which have been serving in France all Indian officers on many occasions mess together. Also there is a wonderful change in their aspirations and views."

This letter answered Lord Lansdowne. His great predecessor, Lord Morley, remarked that it was not easy for a man to apply to a new time the experience gained in a generation of honest labour in an olden time. The choice must now be made between the epoch of Lord Lansdowne and the epoch of Lord Chelmsford.

The India of to-day

If you could see the India Britain has done so much to build up, the quickening effect of education we have introduced, which India so eagerly desires to extend, if you could realise the potential wealth that awaits the investment of British capital for the benefit of India, if you acknowledged the marvellous response to our demand which our cause has aroused in India, if you realised how the supply of men was only limited by the lack of training and habit, how the supply of material was only limited by undeveloped manufacturing capacity, how the supplies generally were only limited by poverty caused by undeveloped resources, if you knew the eager welcome given to the principle of partnership in the Empire, then I am sure you would sympathise with my determination,—despite the frenzied complaint of those who would risk all in their hurry and bitter wailing, those who would treat India as a sort of crystallised fruit,—to do my share in finishing the work begun and to see Britain and India indissolubly united in an ideal of freedom.

THE "NATION" ON INDIAN REFORMS

[The following is an extract from the Editorial column of the "Nation" of May 25, 1918. This is one of those sober English Papers which alike for its breadth of view and perspicacity of judgment has made the name of England endearing to all. Its presentation of the Indian cause is so clear, unprejudiced, and just that there is hardly anything which the most ardent Indian Nationalist can profitably urge more or add to it—E.D.]

A Coalition, whether it deals with Ireland or with India, is apt to be the most dangerous of all forms of Government in a

composite Empire. A Tory Government may yield nothing but it excites no defusive expectations. A Liberal Government may arouse hopes, and in some measure fulfil them. A Coalition is apt to promise, while its acts render fulfilment impossible. We dare not risk in India the failures and provocations which two successive Coalitions have accumulated in Ireland. The parallel is ominous, but it would be folly to refuse to face risks which lie in the nature of these combinations...Let us hope that Mr. Montague will be more fortunate than Mr. Duke, but it will be well to adjust our calculations to the probability that the bureaucracy and the well-organised British commercial interests in India will find backing in the War Cabinet for their opposition to any large or significant concessions. The recent refusal to allow a deputation of influential Indian nationalists to come to England to state their case is a reminder that the forces of resistance are alert and strongly posted at the centre of power.

There is one circumstance in the Indian problem which may incline even the most realistic and the least generous of the older school to large concessions. The military aspect of our eastern problems had changed fundamentally since Mr. Montague's appointment was first made.

The German line lay no farther East than Poland, and in Asiatic Turkey the Russian Army was holding on advanced line which included the Armenian provinces. To-day the crumbling of the Russian State has opened to the Turco-Germans a door of penetration which may carry them dangerously near to the outposts of India. The effect of the German advance is evident in Persia. The benevolent interest of Berlin in Afghanistan, of which the latest phase is the suggestion that the Ameer should be provided with a port in Baluchistan, is another symptom of the trend of German policy.

This Turco-German penetration of the northern roads which lead to the backdoors of India can have no dangers for us, unless all sense of statesmanship deserts us. The future depends on our realisation of the fact that the true defence of India in the generations to come must be neither distance nor the sea, neither deserts nor the Himalayas, but the

Contentment of the Indian peoples

with their lot. This vast population would laugh at the bare suggestion of invasion if it were mobilised to defend a State which

it regarded as its own. The key to the military problem is policy. If ever we had ventured to make India a self-supporting, defensive unit, it would have ceased to be a lure for conquerors. That means however, the abandonment of the jealous traditions which feared to train native officers, feared to entrust native regiments with artillery, and omitted to build up in India the local industries on which a modern army must depend. These fears were prudent only so long as we conceived of ourselves as conquerors governing by the sword. They will vanish when once we have faced the necessity of conceding Indians Self-Government. India can be held against all comers if Indians feel that they are defending not merely the soil of their native land but a Government based on their own consent. If, on the other hand, we hesitate to give, or give grudgingly, it follows that we shall continue to neglect its defensive resources, adhere to the tradition of confiding its defence to a White garrison, and thereby risk, not perhaps its loss but at least intrigues and alarms which may and must make our continued rule in India burdensome to ourselves and irksome to its people. To say that

The Danger to India

lies at some distant date to a successful foreign invasion is to take a very narrow view. The odds are that the actual invasion will never be risked, or will fail if the attempt is made. The danger rather is that a discontented India whose millions we dare not arm for the defence of their Motherland is a standing invitation to intriguing politicians and ambitious soldiers. Their plots, their temptations, and above all, their armaments and our counter armaments are danger enough without an actual invasion. If we will not arm India to defend herself, we must permanently conscribe our own manhood to do it. If we do arm her, it follows that we first see to it that she is contented with her lot.

Contentment is not a condition of mind into which a country can be hypnotised by phrases. The Indian demand for Home Rule is only a way of summing up the will of a people to deal itself with a whole complex of problems which touch its interest and its self-respect. The land which still dazzles the ambitious soldier is so poor that the daily income of its inhabitants was reckoned, at the opening of this century, at something less than a penny a head. Sir Charles Elliott, a very high authority, said that "half the agricultural population never knows from year's end to

year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Even to-day only one-fifth of the children of school-age go to school, though native Baroda has contrived to establish universal education.

Grievance of the Colour Line

The grudging admission of Indians to responsible posts, the closing to them, until Mr. Montague's recent decision, of commissioned ranks in the Army, and the rankling insult of their treatment in our Colonies—all these things have made our problem something more than a question of political machinery. Home Rule means for Indians the power to remedy these grievances. If Mr. Montague's proposals are still transitional, as we suppose they will be, and stop short of full responsible government, the interval which separate them from that ideal must not be large, and the grant must carry with it its own latent promise of expansion. If for the time the Central Government is still an English Bureaucracy and if the Viceroy's Council, however it may be developed, fall short of being a sovereign representative body, there must be compensation in the provinces. Unless these at least, subject to the veto of the Viceroy's Government, are given responsible government, the scheme will fall dangerously short of satisfying Indian aspirations. A fairly long traditional period already lies behind us, and Lord Morley's reforms are a foundation on which a much more imposing structure of autonomy must now be built. The War has changed all the conditions of our problem. It has made of the "self-determination" of subject peoples an ideal to which all civilised governments do homage, even if it be only lip-homage. The pace of reforms has been quickened. Mankind must contrive to cover in a few years an evolution which in normal times might have been spread over a generation.

MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON ON REFORMS.

The following is an extract from an article which appeared in "India," the Congress Organ in England, over the signature of Mr. Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service.]

The Simla Government has in some respects administered India well. But, as the Report says, "it is no longer sufficient to

administer India." It is no longer sufficient to say, as some would have it: "We give you justice; we give you order; we give you roads; we put those who so desire it in the way of making money; what more do you want?" Here is no case for the official, however painstaking, but for the statesman;—for a statesman who, like Cavour, will plan, knead, and mould all circumstances, level all obstacles, concentrate all energies on the single object in view—in this case, responsible government. From this standpoint Simla has an ill record. It does not inspire trust.

The Government which has shown its efficiency in Mesopotamia, its loyalty by the ignoring of Lord Morley's orders on local self-government, its liberalism by the internments without trial, its sympathy with free institutions by the Press and other arbitrary Acts, does not come to the task with clean hands. But this is not the worst. The whole tone of the resolutions and acts of the Government, the speeches of its Ministers in the Council Chamber, breathe a settled hostility to popular aspirations and evince a resolution to yield no power save under duress. To hand over the control of these momentous reforms to such officials is like handing over the introductions of free institutions in Germany to a Ministry of Prussian Junkers or the establishment of Home Rule to the Orange Grand Committee. There is no community of aim. There is rather antagonism of will.

But, it will be said, surely the Report has introduced modifications into the government of India which may breathe some life into the dry bones of officialdom. Modifications there are but they do not suffice. The addition of another Indian in the Executive Council can achieve little, even if, as by no means follows, he is in full sympathy with the great popular movement in India. The Legislative Council will, indeed, for the first time, have an elected majority. But its power is paralysed by the creation of a new Council of State which avowedly will answer all the purposes of the old official bloc. So much for the credit. On the debit side we read that Simla will be less under the control of the (reformed) India Office, that the staff will be increased, and, perhaps, even less in touch with district life than hitherto, that "the capacity of the Government of India to obtain its will in all essential matters must be unimpaired." Small wonder that some prominent Indians, on reading these provisions, have confessed to a feeling akin to despair. How can India receive with a smile reforms which leave Simla, the head and front of the bureaucratic system, unreformed, nay, rather strengthened against the people's will? "Did men laugh,"

once exclaimed Voltaire, "when they saw Phalairs' bull being made red hot?" Either a new and popular spirit must be infused into the Central Government or its power must be vastly curtailed. Simla must be either bettered or fettered. Otherwise, the Montague-Chelmsford scheme will fail, exactly as the Morley-Minto scheme has failed, and its failure may wreck alike the honour of England and the weal of India.

The least measure that can bring about a degree of harmony between Simla and the Indian people, and ensure that it will neither let nor hinder but truly help forward the march towards self-government, would seem to lie in reform of the central government on the same lines as those in the Provinces. That is to say, certain subjects should be transferred to Indian Ministers selected from the Legislative Assembly, who will also be members of the Executive Council. Only, as I have already suggested in the case of the Provinces, the Minister or Ministers must be responsible to the Assembly and removable by it. There can be no training in self-government without a responsible elected Assembly, and without power there is no responsibility. In such a change there is nothing cataclysmal, nothing to inspire fear or to shake confidence. It forms a reasonable halfway house on the way to self-government. It gives occasion whereby the people may learn the art of ruling, the rulers may shed the hard shell of bureaucracy. Through it the central government, now so isolated, must inevitably be brought more into sympathy and harmony with the new life in India.

If, as none may doubt, the goal before India is federation, the Council of State may well remain as the embryo of a future Senate. The function of a Senate is to preserve the autonomy, the independent life, of the Provinces, whilst the other Chamber expresses, develops, and quickens the life of the nation as a whole. Of necessity the Council of State will at first have a strong official tinge. For that reason, and because the present is a stage of transition and training, its power over transferred subjects should be limited. In reserved subjects it should be supreme. It might hold a position analogous to the Grand Committees in the Provinces.

Lord Sydenham on Indian Reforms.

[The following appeared in the "National News" of England over the signature of Lord Sydenham. This is one of his Lordship's most clear presentation of his views of the matter.]

For more than four years the British people have been fighting for their existence in conditions of increasing stress. Sacrifices have been demanded from all alike. Sorrows have touched every home. The freedom of the individual has given way to the stern exigencies of War, and burdens of many kinds have been cheerfully borne. As we strive to follow the swaying fortunes of our arms, rejoicing in the splendid gallantry and devotion of our sailors and soldiers on sea and in the air, grieving for the heavy losses and the suffering entailed, and working strenuously to supply the needs of our fighting men, there has been no time to watch the rapid growth of a dangerous movement in India. In our intense preoccupation, the small section of English-educated politicians of the Indian upper caste saw their opportunity and have turned it to the fullest account. We are now face to face with demands based upon the avowed intention of making British Rule impossible, and we shall, while still engrossed in the world War, be called upon to take decisions upon which the fate of India must depend.

A Seditious Group.

When War broke out it was certain that the Princes and Chiefs of India who realise what the downfall of Britain must mean to their class, would heartily and generously support the Imperial cause. It was as certain that the gallant Indian Army, under British officers whom it loved and trusted, would fight bravely wherever duty called. So much everyone who knew India confidently expected. What we did not expect was that the invaluable help of the Chiefs and of the fighting classes of India and the resources of the country, the utilisation of which for War purposes has brought wealth and prosperity to many Indians, would be alleged as valid reasons for handing over power to a little fraction of the population which has not only done nothing to help the Empire at a crisis in its fate, but has, by raising a ferment in India and by preaching contempt for British Rule broadcast since the War began, done its utmost to increase our abounding difficulties.

Grave happenings kept secret.

The Report of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State practically admits this claim, and is mainly concerned with finding means of placating the little body of political agitators who have not even taken the trouble to veil their objects. The authors of this report disregard the grave happenings in India since August 1914, of which the public at home has been kept in ignorance. They are as oblivious of the pregnant experience of recent years, which has shown that every concession to the political party has led to outrages and to fresh demands couched in truculent language. Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal, which was welcomed by the Mohamedan population of the severed portion, was made the excuse for a violent agitation, which was not in the least appeased when the territorial frontiers of the Bengali nation were restored in 1911. The announcement that Lords Morley and Minto were incubating reforms led to a dangerous campaign of seditious oratory in Upper India and elsewhere, necessitating special measures of precaution. Then followed bomb outrages and the assassination of Europeans, to be succeeded by the murder of Indian police officers. The mission of Mr. Montague to India—a concession to agitation in the middle of the War—gave a fresh impulse to the forces of disorder, and the shameful organised attacks by Hindus upon peaceful Moslem villagers in Bihar was planned in anticipation of "reforms" which were expected to mark the further weakening of British rule. Whenever there has been yielding to the political *clique*, as in the release of Mrs. Besant from her pleasant place of internment, an increase of clamour and vituperation has resulted.

A Crazy Constitution.

No one who has not closely followed the "Home Rule" or "Self-government within the Empire" movement during recent years, its propaganda and effects, can form an accurate estimate of the certain result of the adoption of the crazy constitution which the Report attempts to set forth. There are defects in our system of government which have often been pointed out, and some of them are now to be remedied; but that system has worked miracles in India, and there is not the faintest sign of a real popular desire for any change. The number of Indians holding offices of every kind has been steadily increasing. The Viceroy and Secretary of State record, but fail to perceive, the significance of the fact that,

under the Morley-Minto Reforms, Government has "generally preferred to give way" when face to face "with anything approaching solid opposition on the part of Indian members." In other words, Indian opinion—as is right and proper—now carries full weight. Where these Reforms have failed is that the elected Members of Council represent only a small privileged minority of the population, and nearly half of them are lawyers whose interests are, in too many cases, antagonistic to those of the real people of India. Here lies scope for further changes directed to ensure the representation of the working classes. A drastic overhauling of the whole system of education, which is visibly retarding progress, would be the wisest reform that could be undertaken; but only a strong Government could carry it out in face of interested political opposition.

Russia's Lesson.

Everyone who realises all that is now at stake in India, the great Imperial interests involved in the maintenance of order, the wonderful progress since the Mutiny, and the appalling object lesson which the collapse of authority in Russia has provided, must study the proposals of the Report. The picture of Indian conditions which it presents fails to portray essential facts. The object at which it aims is to appease an artificial agitation by concessions which would have the effect of undermining all authority in India, and, by the administrative confusion which they involve, would powerfully stimulate and even justify the demand for more. So long as India is absolutely dependent upon Great Britain for internal order, for protection against external aggression, and for the credit which is enabling her to build up industries steadily growing, the paramount power of our Rule must be maintained, not by constitutional artifices, but as a living force everywhere recognised and respected. A Government which shows weakness is doomed.

VISCOUNT MORLEY ON INDIAN REFORMS.

National Liberal Club—June 25, 1918.

[At the National Liberal Club (Eng.) there was a distinguished gathering of eminent Indians, many M. Ps, and Lords, under the presidency of the Marquis of Lincolnshire on the unveiling of a marble bust of Lord Morley presented to him by his friends and admirers, mainly Indian. Lady Baig (Abbas Ali) unveiled the bust, and Sir M. Bhawanagare presented it with a fitting speech. Lord Morley thanked them in reply and in the course of his speech made a reference to the Indian Reforms then uppermost in everyone's mind.]

The motto of Lord Minto and himself was "Rally the moderates" and he hoped that that would continue to be the aim. Whatever changes might be necessary, no security could be certain unless they had the moderates with them. Lord Minto once wrote to him, "I do believe we can accumulate great influence if we only give to the people of India evidence of sympathy." Then the present Sovereign of this realm, who had just returned from India, made a speech at the Guildhall in which he said that sympathy was the keyword to success in holding the loyalty of and doing service for the Indians. Sympathy was no substitute for wise government; but, on the other hand, no government was wise which tried to do without it, and that certainly was a maxim that was followed during the time that Lord Minto was responsible for the government of India.

Lord Cromer had said a wise thing when he declared that it was much better to give an Indian an appointment over an Englishman, even though he was the less competent of the two. That was paradoxical, but it meant that you gained more in popular content than you lost in not having the best administrator. One did not need to have the genius of Aristotle to perceive that a Viceroy and a Secretary of State would be all the more likely to understand the feelings, the opinions, the drift of India if they had an Indian on the Advisory Executive Council. Looking back upon that controversy, he would say that the most essential of all reforms was the adoption of the principle that no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities of government. He recalled in this connexion the

solemn and sacred promise given by Queen Victoria that membership of any race within the Empire should not disqualify anybody for the holding of office

The admission of an Indian to the Secretary of State's Council was the most stiffly opposed of all the Morley-Minto reforms, but it was now the one reform to which there was no opposition at all. It had been, on the contrary, extended and amplified. In this respect they had been thoroughly justified by experience.

The Reforms.

Neither Lord Minto nor himself ever said that their reforms would put a stop to agitation, or that they would satisfy the political hunger of India. He was content, and he was sure Lord Minto would have been content, when he read that the feeling of the people of India was never so good as in 1914. Lord Hardinge also spoke of the vast political improvement that had taken place, and said it was entirely due to Lord Minto and himself.

Correspondents had asked him what he thought of the proposed reforms. He would be precipitate if he gave a bold "Aye" or "No", or praise or dispraise, though it would not matter if he did. He had given a careful study to the report. "Copiousness," he remarked "makes every thing more respectable to me; it is a literary habit", but he was not going to pronounce on the clauses, or what might happen on the Committed stage. He felt that he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the parental physiognomy of 1909 in the progeny of 1918. He had been reproached for stating that he would not take part in a reform of India that might lead to an Indian Parliament. He would like to know what was meant by a Parliament. He did not know whether the outcome of the proposals now before the country would amount to a Parliament, and what sort of a Parliament it would be. Therefore, that might well be postponed. But no one could suppose for a moment that all the convulsion and passion sweeping over the world was going to pass India by. Nothing could be more irrational than to imagine the people of India as saying that they were out of all this and wanted nothing. There were great and powerful bodies of Indians of whom that was not in the least degree true. As to the immediate proposals, he had the privilege and advantage of being the col-

league of the Secretary of State for India, and while he felt that Mr. Montagu's orders were more likely to be, on the whole recommended than any other that could be imagined, he deprecated at this early stage in the discussion of the matter the kind of truculence of tone already adopted by some organs of opinion who treated this serious and important movement in connexion with India as if it were a mere passing difference in our own public and political life. We needed all the freedom from party passion that we could get to bring us safely through the difficult position in which we were. He had the highest admiration for the zealous counsels and active experience and influence which Mr. Montagu had brought to bear on the problems of Indian government from the day that he entered the India Office, and no doubt he had continually cast the lead and taken his soundings before making his recommendations. Was it surprising that India should show herself alive and awake to all the events that were now passing in the world ?

Lord Macaulay once said :—"Do you think we can give the Indians knowledge without awakening their ambition ? Do you think we can awaken their ambition without giving them some legitimate vent for it ?" And then he said :—"It may be the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown our system"—that was to say, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, the Indians might in some future age demand European institutions. That was a process, said he, which would have to be carefully watched. It would have to be faced, and those would be just and wise statesmen who did not shrink from letting the Imperial public realise all that might lie before them. It could not be met by dogmatic negatives ; there could have to be considerate treatment, whether in the form of Mr. Montagu's proposals or in any other form.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH ON THE REFORMS.

[The following appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* (Lond.) of Aug. last. As a sample of the Anti-Indian Reform campaign led by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association the article quoted below will be read with interest in India]

If it were not for our pre-occupation with the War, especially at so critical a time in its present course, we should be probably paying more attention to some of those questions about

Indian reform which were raised by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords a week ago. We confess to a certain uneasiness on the subject, because points of great importance, as it seems to us, are being taken as settled, and considerations which are very germane to the issue are being put aside and neglected. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was placed before the House, it was settled that certain Committees should be appointed in order to examine the details of the scheme, and the natural inference was that their report would be submitted to the House before any further steps were taken. We have now before us the views taken by the non-official members of the Legislative Council and we will venture to say that such remarkable proposals are by no means of a kind that can be accepted without a great deal of anxious consideration. So far we can gather from the telegrams received from Simla, the Committee of non-official members of the Legislative Council, although approving in principle the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, allow themselves to make recommendations which are not so much of the nature of reforms as in their essence revolutionary. Naturally, perhaps, they ask for the introduction of responsible government into the Government of India, with a division of reserved and transferred subjects, the latter to be under the control of a Minister or Ministers with consequential budgetary powers. They then proceed to demand fiscal autonomy on the Dominions model, and it is suggested that the Viceroy's powers should be limited to military and political matters, and also to those affecting the defence of India. We have mentioned only the relatively moderate proposals. There are others which go much farther. The Indian Executive Government is to be half European and half Indian; the institution of a Privy Council—a very legitimate object of criticism—is condemned: 50 per cent. of the Indian Civil Service, it is suggested, should be recruited in India, while 25 per cent. of the commissioned officers of the Indian Army must also be Indians. These are the salient proposals; but we may remark that those which were urged by dissentient members of the Committee, were, of course framed after the model of the resolutions passed by the Indian Congress at Bombay. If we were to say that what the Committee demands, or at all events, what some members of the Committee demand, is a complete up-to-date democracy of the Russian type, it would hardly be exaggerating the general tendency of this Report.

Our objection, however, to this or any other scheme put forward does not depend so much on individual propositions as on the kind of assumption which underlies the whole procedure. In our opinion it is absolutely wrong that the India office should take for granted certain changes in India without any adequate discussion of the principles involved. The whole Indian scheme, with its manifest difficulties, and in some cases its absurdities, has never received any adequate discussion in Parliament, and the appointment of these Committees ought to have been surrounded with greater safeguards; at all events they ought not to have been appointed in advance of any general agreement on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. So far as this country is concerned, we see no reason to presuppose that proposals of an exceedingly serious and far-reaching character must, as a matter of course, and without any hesitation, be approved. To some extent we are being kept in the dark on vital points on which it is absolutely necessary we should have the opportunity for clear and unbiassed opinion. Take the case of the Report of the Rowlatt Committee. Lord Sydenham urged in the House of Lords that though this was a State paper of the greatest significance, we have not yet had the findings of the Committee in any complete form laid before us. "It was essential" Lord Sydenham said, "that Parliament and the public should not be left dependent on extracts from the Indian papers for information in this matter." He made the very natural suggestion that there had been some reluctance in publishing these revelations, for the revelations themselves are extremely serious and important. Within recent years, as most of those who have been in India know, there has been in existence a far reaching revolutionary movement which, to make its menace the more sinister, is under secret control. Of course, the Germans at the outbreak of the War did all they could to take a part in revolutionary activity. There was definite attempt made to import arms into India, and a very grave and threatening plot in the Punjab was discovered happily just in time. As a matter of fact, the story told by the Rowlatt Committee is that of a widely spread criminal conspiracy with ramifications existing all over the world, and the names of several prominent Indian politicians are mentioned whose speeches and writings were an open incentive to murder and assassination. The defence made for the non-publication of this Report is not of a very convincing character. Lord Islington said that "owing to a misunderstanding" copies of the Report had only been despatched as late as Oct. 9, and that to avoid any further delay the Secretary of State had given instructions that the Report

should be reprinted in this country and laid before Parliament in the course of a fortnight or three weeks. We agree with the Marquis of Crewe that what Lord Islington called a misunderstanding amounts to a really grave blunder. Here is information, equally valuable and serious which, from whatever cause, is kept back, although long ago it ought to have been made available for due consideration by the House. Nor must we forget that, in view of the drastic changes recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, every opportunity ought to be given for a full discussion, not only of the reasons which make this or a similar reform advisable or necessary, but also of the undoubted perils involved in a revolutionary movement, the existence of which everyone acknowledges, but which it seems convenient for certain officials to ignore.

LORD ISLINGTON ON INDIAN REFORMS.

(*Pall Mall Gazette*)

[*The Rt. Hon. Lord Islington, G. C. M. G., D.S.O. P.C. was the Under-Secretary of State for India last year.*]

Those who are indulging in criticism of the proposed constitutional changes for India think too much of conditions as they ought to be and too little of conditions as they are. The ideal must, of course, be kept in sight. But the difficulties that make it impossible to realise the ideal all at once must equally be kept in view. India has never had responsible Government, as we understand it. Indians have not yet become a unified people, though during the past generation they have made considerable progress in that direction. These circumstances make it necessary to go forward with great caution. It is far better to move forward slowly than to take a false step that might prejudice India's future.

I maintain that the only fair way to measure the institutions that are projected is to compare them with those that exist at present in India. Can any one who has made such a comparison say that the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms does not propose a definite break with the past? Can anyone who has made such a comparison deny that Indians are, for the first time, to have a measure of control over the official bureaucracy?

The exact extent to which such control can be handed over is, after all, a matter of detail. The main point is that the principle on which Indian governance is based is to be revolutionised. Anyone

who has grasped that basic fact is sure to agree that we are about to initiate silent but fundamental changes in the methods of Indian administration.

Time has moved forward. The schools, the colleges, and Universities created by us in India have borne abundant fruit. The railways, telegraphs, telephone, posts, and other means of communication introduced by us have helped to wipe out distance and to enable Indians to exchange views freely with one another. Foreign travel and education at our Universities and Inns of Court, and in other countries have enabled thousands of young Indians to obtain a nearer view of our institutions. We should be blind indeed if we did not recognise the potency of the impulses that we have set in motion, or if, recognising it, we refused to give them scope.

The Proposed Arrangement.

Officials, it must be remembered, will not remain masters of all the departments, as they are at present. On the contrary, they will occupy, in several departments, the position that permanent officials occupy in this country, the real head of the departments being the political chief responsible to Indian electorates.

This dual control is a mere transitory arrangement designed to help India to get over the stile. The greater the political aptitude Indians show, the quicker this system will disappear. Therefore, the pace of progress will, in a large measure, be set by Indians themselves.

We ought to take every possible care to ensure that the Indian Legislatures are truly representative of the Indian people, and are not merely composed of classes of superior intellectual power, irrespective of vital interests in the country. I am extremely doubtful that our Western system of territorial electorates will, at present, realise this essential object in India. It is however, unwise to pass final judgment upon the subject, until the labours of the Committees shortly to be appointed to enquire into the franchise and other allied questions, have been completed. But I will add this one observation. The extent, both in regard to number and importance, to which subjects are to be transferred to Ministerial control in provincial Legislatures should largely be determined by the extent to which an electoral system can be adopted, which will ensure a true representation of the people and interests in the Legislative Council of each province.

Lines of Advance.

Many of the critics of the proposed constitutional reforms for India seem to forget that we are contemplating, not merely political changes, but also administrative changes in India. Not only is the element of Responsible Government to be introduced into the major provinces of India, but these provinces are to be given increased financial and administrative power.

I for one—and in this connection I am expressing only my own personal views—am convinced that without thorough-going administrative reform the Indian problem will remain unsolved. As I pointed out last year in the course of the Mesopotamian debate in the House of Lords, and later in the course of an address that I delivered at Oxford, the present centralised system accumulates into its own hands the daily expanding activities and ambitions of that vast continent, 1,098,074 square miles in area, and with a population of over 244,000,000 persons, and as this goes on, the Governor General finds himself becoming more and more the mouthpiece of groups of highly centralised departments out of touch with provincial sentiment. We must reverse this system and give at least the major provinces freedom to manage their affairs without being perpetually subjected to control by the central authority which often causes undue delay.

Administrative Freedom.

In my view the provinces must be given freedom in administrative as well as in financial matters, because you cannot have one without the other. It must, however, be not a mere paper freedom, but an actual, real freedom. It must be remembered, of course, that so long as a part of the provincial administration continues to be autocratically controlled, and therefore not responsible to Indian electorates, it is imperative to exercise a measure of check from above. Such control legitimately belongs to Parliament, and should be exercised through its agent, the Secretary of state for India.

During the six decades that have elapsed since the Act of 1858 was passed, the Secretary of State, who by the Act was furnished with complete power over Indian affairs, has in a large measure, delegated his authority to the Central Government in India. The provincial Governments are not sufficiently masters in their own house and are obliged to look to the Government of India for sanction before they can carry out work of purely local concern, often of a character that requires promptitude in action.

I am of opinion myself that in many matters of provincial administration a great deal more elasticity in control over provincial Governments should be established, and I believe this can be effected with greater success by the Secretary of State in Council re-assuming the powers granted him by the Act of 1858, and deciding afresh what matters can properly be left to the discretion of provincial Governments, those that can with greater convenience and efficiency be delegated by him to the Government of India, and those which he will reserve in his own hands. I believe that it is by pursuing a course in this direction that provincial governments can best be given that amount of freedom of action which it is desirable in the interests of their provinces that they should enjoy. In the above suggestion I am assuming that a select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, containing a strong element with experience of Indian affairs, is appointed on lines recommended in Section 295 of the Report and that certain changes are made in the India Office and in the constitution of the India Council.

Trade and Industry.

I believe, for instance, that the Secretary of State in Council would prove a more effective confirming authority than the Government of India in regard to matters pertaining to the development of trade and industry in India, which should become one of the most prominent features in Indian progress of the immediate future. Living and moving, as he does, in the financial centre of the world, he can easily place himself in communication with those concerned in finance and trade who will be in a position to afford him expert advice. Thus India would have everything to gain and nothing to lose through the abolition of the indirect method.

If the provinces are given a substantial increase of freedom of action, as I sincerely trust will be the case, the Provincial Governor of the future will have placed upon his shoulders many new and delicate duties. It is said by some that under the Reform Scheme the position of a Governor will become intolerable, and it will be difficult to secure any one to undertake the work. I cannot bring myself to believe that this will be the case. Men will have to be chosen of considerable experience, possessing tact and high quality in public affairs. The history of the British Empire presents a glowing record of public men who have left these shores and have filled with distinction and credit positions where they have had to discharge tasks no less onerous or difficult than those that will confront a Governor of an Indian province in the future. I have

little fear myself that, when the time comes, men will be found, as Alberto, to meet the occasion.

THE SPECTATOR ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[The following two letters were addressed to the Spectator, one by Mr. Lionel Curtis, and the other by Mr. C. Roberts M.P., strongly objecting to the low and denunciatory language used by that paper in its comments on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We refrain from quoting the comments as they are full of the grossest abuse of Indians and the foulest attacks on all who sympathise with India. That paper, it requires only to be said, has outdone the the Indio-British association in its attack on Indian Reforms, and its knowledge of Indians and Indian affairs appears to be only equalled by the level of its own language.]

Letter of Lionel Curtis

Sir,

The following statement appears in your article on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report: "Now the gossips tell us that the Indian Report was thought and written by Curtis, camouflaged by Montagu, and signed by Chelmsford." When gossip is idle it ought to be stopped, and I must therefore say that I left India in February before the Report was written. I had said everything I had to say in my *Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government*, published in the previous December. This, like many other papers printed at the time, was before the Viceroy and Secretary of State. Both documents are in front of you, and you can judge for yourself how much or how little my arguments influenced their recommendation. But really the point is not worth the while either of yourself or of your readers at a time like this. What matters is simply how far those recommendations are sound or otherwise.

As, however, I am forced to take up my pen to contradict the gossip, I cannot lay it down without recording my protest against certain reference in this article to "*the political section of the Brahmanical cast in India.*" I submit to your better judgment, Sir, that "grave, demure, insidious, spring-nailed, velvet-pawed, green-eyed, philosophers of Hindostan" is a string of abuse not to be excused by the fact that it is given as a quotation from Burke. You cannot have realised the insults you are inflicting, nor yet the feelings to which they will give rise, when in the same paragraph you compare

Brahmins to lackals, and the whole people of India to "a pack of animals outside in the dark waiting to be fed." We have enemies who are labouring constantly to sow hatred between Indians and ourselves. The writer of this article can know but little of modern India, or in using such language he would have hesitated to place a weapon so dangerous in their hands. A few days after the outgoing mails reach Bombay these words will be spreading broadcast throughout the vernacular Press, producing a flame of resentment in the minds of a deeply sensitive people. They will be printed and reprinted months hence, as coming from a paper hitherto recognised as the soberest organ of English opinion, and will cause the gravest embarrassment to those who represent us in India.

The class you are attacking has included men like the late Mr. Gokhale, Sir Sunder Lal, and hosts of others whom Englishmen have valued not only as friends but as loyal and enlightened supporters of the British rule. What excuse can be made for denouncing the whole class to which such men belong without exception or qualification? Your article will do definite mischief, not merely to your own cause, but to the whole position of England in India. I have never yet seen a situation which was helped by wounding people's feelings, still less those of a whole class and a whole people. As Lord Morley once said, "India is a country where bad manners are a crime," and in handling this grave crisis in Indian affairs, writers will do well to realise that all classes there are entitled to the same courtesy as those at home. I cannot picture you applying the language you have used of the Political Brahmanas and the people of India to the Irish Bishops or the people of Ireland. What public end do you think is served by such words?

I hold no brief for the Brahmana caste. But every thinking man who knows India and the Indian Press must hold a brief for the cause of temperance in public discussion. Our first duty in helping India towards responsible Government is to teach that habit. Precept is useless. Our only means are forbearance and example, and for the *Spectator*, of all papers, to open this discussion in a vein like this is nothing short of a public calamity. Every Englishman who has Indian friends will read your article with a feeling of shame. The best we can do now is to treat public discourtesy with the vigorous rebuke it deserves, and as my name is brought into the article, I must register my protest forthwith. But nothing can now mend the mischief it will do... I am, Sir, &c.,

L. CURTIS.

Letter of Charles Roberts, M. P.

Sir,

Your vehement denunciation of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for Indian reform impels me to ask space for some reply.

Clearly your attack is levelled not merely against these proposals but also against the Cabinet's declaration of August last. That declaration, anyhow, was not in favour "of two generations at the very least" of the principles of Wellesley and Cornwallis. It did not merely contemplate self-governing institutions "a very long way off." The goal of Indian policy was stated to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government." Doubtless progress was to be by stages, but "the Cabinet had decided that substantial steps were to be taken in this direction as soon as possible." That utterance has been quoted and requoted all over India. It came from a Coalition Government representing all parties, and not a ripple of dissent from it has been seen in Parliament during the last eleven months. It is not only a question of the personal recommendation of Mr. Montagu, though no Secretary of State has ever before had such opportunities of forming a judgment. The policy has been countersigned by the Viceroy, supported whole heartedly by the colleagues who accompanied Mr. Montagu to India, and accepted by the Viceroy's Council and by the Council of India. I do not argue that you are personally bound in any way by the Cabinet's declaration, but it has profoundly affected the situation. The doctrine of paternal Government by the Trustee is definitely abandoned. The time has come to take the quondam minor into partnership within a sphere limited at first but admitting of expansion. I would submit that the first step in your alternative policy for India can only be the dismissal from office of the Cabinet as a whole.

You think that the offer of self-government to India is prompted by "timidity" and a "mixed condition of pity and terror." I am surprised at the impression which the Report seems to have made on you in this respect. I can but honestly state the effect on my own mind of visits to Delhi and Lucknow. They left me with a vivid impression of the immensely increased strength of modern Governments for the maintenance of law and order, and for the control of vast tracts of territory. Starting from that consciousness of increased strength, we can, in my view, with far less risk than there might have been in the past, proceed to a devolution of self

governing powers, in the value of which we honestly believe. You warn us against the chance of a swift descent into anarchy. That may happen if a Government is as criminally weak as that of the Tsar. But where does the Montagu Report fail to provide for the due discharge of Imperial responsibilities or for the maintenance of law and order ?

On one page you suggest that the Report proposes to "sacrifice the dumb millions of India to a single caste, literally to a minority of a tiny minority." On the next page, in sketching the constitution of your experimental Indian Republic, you feel that "as wide a suffrage as possible" might prove a safeguard against "the dominance of a single caste or clique." The provincial Legislative Councils under the Montagu Chelmsford scheme are to be based on as wide and direct a franchise as possible. They have the safeguards of "reserved" services and the Governor's veto. Why is it certain that they must sacrifice the dumb, but at least partially enfranchised, millions to a tiny fractional minority ?

Your alternative experimental Indian Republic ("subject to the guidance of a political officer", as in a Native State) would, I think, prove either a sham or a probable failure. The Republic under a new Lord Cromer would probably have very little of the genuine Republic about it. If the political officer was indeed nothing but a friendly onlooker, then I would submit that the breakdowns in self-governing institutions, whether in old Revolutionary France or in Bolshevik Russia, come from plunging untrained into self-government without providing time for the gradual growth of the unwritten customs, conventions, and understandings on which successful free institutions rest. That is the justification for the policy of progressive stages on which the Cabinet's declaration and the Report are based. If unexpectedly the Republic, in spite of an abrupt start without preliminary training, succeeded, how on your principles could you refuse all India the chance of setting up similar institutions without first learning the practical business of self-government ? As far as foresight can go, that would indeed involve a deliberate plunge into Bolshevism.

I cannot refrain from a final remark that scathing invective and contemptuous denunciation break no bones in England, though it seems hardly the best atmosphere in which a great problem should be discussed. But your words will be read in India. You are expecting Indians to accept a doctrine hard enough for them. India can produce apparently men like, let us say, the late Mr. Gokhale,

who, as far as one could judge, was as fitted to work free institutions as the average British Cabinet Minister. Indians have the success of Japan before their eyes. But after the Cabinet's declaration you expect them to write themselves down as fit only for another fifty years of the principles of Cornwallis and Wellesley, and as unable to obtain "for at the very least two generations" even some approach to the institutions which exist every where throughout Europe and America and which all Eastern countries are now trying to obtain. And passion in discussion breeds passion in return. Is it in the interests of the Empire to provoke an answering storm of vehement repudiation of a position which is insulting to themselves? Forgive me for saying that those who have admired the *Spectator's* gravity and calm in the past are puzzled to account for a strange lapse from your true and dispassionate self.—I am, Sir, &c.,

Charles Roberts.

THE WESTMINSTER GAZETTE ON INDIAN REFORMS.

[H. H. The Aga Khan's book "*India in Transition*" which came out early last year 1917 sets forth His Highness' views on Indian Reforms. It enjoyed for some time an immense popularity and perhaps simplified Mr. Montagu's task by preparing the minds of English men for the acceptance of some Reforms which were growingly becoming inevitable and imperative. It is on this work that the following comment of the Gazette is based.]

The importance of the Aga Khan's book is not merely or chiefly in the scheme of reform which it advocates, though we believe that to be generally on sound lines, but still more in the account that it gives of the situation in India. It has hitherto been one of the principal arguments of the opponents of reform in India that if we yielded to the "agitators" we should be conciliating a small and unrepresentative class at the cost of alienating the much more powerful landowners, aristocracy, and ruling Princes who were the main support of British rule in India. We should be putting in power a handful of lawyers, journalists, and Anglicised Babus, who have no hold over the masses of the peasants, and would not be tolerated for a moment by the real Indian aristocracy if our protection were removed. There has for many years past been serious reason for questioning this hypothesis, and, if we may believe the Aga Khan, it has lost all validity in these times. The

picture that he paints for us is that all landowners, gentry, and ruling Princes, as well as politicians and Congressmen, are becoming united in a demand for some kind of responsible government. A right estimate of this movement, which is one of the principal features of Indian life since the war began, is so important that we will quote at some length what the Aga Khan has to say about it.

Increasingly, of late years, some of the best-known Princes have been cherishing the ideal of a Constitutional and Parliamentary basis for their administrations. There can be no doubt that a liberal policy in British India will soon be followed in many of the States by widening applications of the principle of co-operation "between the rulers and the ruled." It is most gratifying to Indian patriots to note the sympathy which the Princes and Nobles have shown with the aspirations of the people of British India towards selfgovernment. After all, these rulers, unlike the small dynasties of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Italy, are children of the soil, and have a natural sympathy and fellow feeling with their countrymen.

There could be no better or more convincing presentation of these aspirations of India, in brief compass, than that given by the Maharaja of Bikanir, in his historic pronouncement at the luncheon of the Empire Parliamentary Association to the Indian delegates to the Imperial War Conference, at the House of Commons, on April 24th 1917. Those of us who personally know the ruling princes of to-day—so active, hard-working, patriotic, and devoted to the welfare of their people usually; so free from all "side," and, in a word, so different from the legendary Maharaja of the imaginative writers of the past—have no reason to doubt that this eloquent plea voiced not only the views of the educated people of India but also those of the average Ruling chiefs. In fact His Highness of Bikanir spoke on similar lines to his brother Princes when they entertained him to a dinner in Bombay on the eve of his departure for the Imperial War Conference. It may also be noted that the Maharaja of Alwar's speech was full of democratic enthusiasm which have made a considerable impression in India within the last two or three years.

We can hardly emphasise too strongly the importance of this passage. The Aga Khan does not exaggerate when he describes the Maharaja of Bikanir's speeches as historic. They were a warning to the official world that the old India could no longer be relied upon to back the opposition to the new; and before many months had elapsed it became evident that the Maharaja

had spoken not for himself alone but for a large number of the ruling Princes and leading men both in the Protected States and in India proper. From this moment it became clear that the Indian movement was on a much broader base than its opponents had supposed, and that it had in it the genuine elements of a rational demand.

For the next step forward the Aga Khan's watchword is decentralisation. He would have India regrouped into large Presidencies, to the Governorships of which he would make the Indian Princes eligible, give them elective assemblies with a variety of franchise qualification but follow the German rather than the British model by making the Governor and the executive independent of the Assembly, except that the latter might remove an unsuitable head of a Department by a three-fourths majority. For each Province he would have a Senate or Second Chamber, partly nominated and partly appointed by important bodies or interests. He would have the functions of the Imperial and Provincial Governments carefully delimited, leaving to the Central Government everything that could be called all-Indian. In fact, his constitution would be a Federal one. The Viceroy would have his Cabinet, and beside a Senate nominated by the Provinces and the Protected States, again on the model of the German Bundesrath.

The Aga Khan would give large scope to Indians in legislation, but take large guarantees against rash radicalism. He would make the executives independent of the elective assemblies and leave the Viceroy and his Cabinet in firm control of army and navy, foreign policy, fiscal affairs, and everything that concerned all-India, with the nominated Senate as his legislative organ. He would like the Viceroy to be a member of the Royal Family, and he would keep him bound to and even extend the reference of policy to Whitehall, though there would necessarily be some modifications in the method.

There are two aspects of the Indian question which need constantly to be borne in mind in these times. One is the internal and domestic problem of India; the other is the immense importance of India in Imperial and foreign policy. Upon the first of these aspects the Aga Khan has one very subtle and interesting remark to make. He quotes the dictum of the late Lord Cromer that a Government like that of Britain in India, i.e. a Government without popular sanction "could not maintain itself

except by light taxation," and he points out that this though true sets a limit to development. "Bureaucratic Government, even when well intentioned and paternal, is conscious of some lack of moral right to call for those sacrifices from the people that will raise their conditions in the cultural and sociological field *pari passu* with or in advance of the economic.' Elementary education, for example, is a crying need of India but the Government as at present constituted dare not face the taxation that would be necessary to make it general or universal. And so with a dozen other departments in which a liberal expenditure would be for the advantage of the country. The bureaucratic Government may pride itself on the lightness of its taxation and yet by that very fact convict itself as necessarily and inevitably unprogressive.

On the other aspect of the question, the foreign and Imperial, the Aga Khan writes with knowledge and good sense. The chapter entitled "Germany's Asiatic Ambitions" shows him to be thoroughly acquainted with the motives of European policy and though as a Mohammedan he has natural regrets at the course of events which estranged us from the Turks, he sees our point of view and concedes that in all the circumstances we were obliged to act as we did. But he insists that at the end of the war the right and perhaps the only counter to German Asiatic designs will be a loyal and contented India visibly typifying the free principles of the British Empire against German absolutism. The importance of India in Central Asiatic policy is too often forgotten and the Aga Khan does well to remind us of it. We believe with him that a loyal and contented India is the key to the position, and that if we rise to the occasion and are prepared with a generous and imaginative policy we shall reap our reward. The danger is not in going forward but in delays and evasions which may lead the Indian people to suppose that we attach no serious meaning to our promises and give the agitators ground or pretext for extreme course.

THE AGA KHAN'S SCHEME.

[The following is a bare outline of the Scheme of Reforms proposed by H. H. The Aga Khan in his book "India in Transition"]

The scheme of Reforms proposed is based on a Federal idea embracing the Native Principalities as well as the Provinces.

As India is too vast and diversified for a successful unilateral form of free Government, the Provinces should be autonomous in which official executive responsibility would be vested in a Governor as directly representing the Sovereign. The most striking pro-

posal is that the Governorships should now be open to Indians, confining the choice for some years hence to Ruling Princes, Bikanir for instance, who would leave their own territory for five years for this greater field. Officially, as Governors, they should be free from their states for their tenure of office. Later on other Indians would qualify for the Governorships. The Aga Khan recommends the adoption of the American principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control so far as tenure of office is concerned.

Provincial legislatures should be greatly enlarged; Bombay, for example, having 180 to 220 members in order to have a representative of every district, community and substantial interest. There should be a Senate or Upper House and the power of both Houses over the legislature and finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor, and the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent Departmental head. Another striking proposal, but by no means new, is that the Viceroy should be a member of the Royal family of England, the son or brother of the King-Emperor, as this will secure a reality in the loyalty of the people through a personal allegiance to the Ruling family to which the oriental mind is specially susceptible. There will be a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet, choosing his colleagues under the Viceroy's guidance as he thought best.

After due establishment of a federal constitution, and once internal federation was complete, it would sooner or later attract Persia, Afghanistan and all principalities from Africa and similar countries into a freewill membership of a great South Asiatic federation of which Delhi would be the centre.

The need for building up a national army and a real Indian navy is emphasised after a survey of foreign relations as affected by Germany's Asiatic ambitions and the Pan-Turanian movement. The Aga Khan insists that a certain way of securing progressive civilisation, order, method and discipline to India lies in the creation of trusted local authorities natural to the soil and placing side by side with them, the best British and Indian officials available, to carry out measures from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement which have been instrumental in the evolution of all great nations.

There must necessarily be a final break with a Government deriving its authority wholly from outside and the commencement must be made from the lowest to the highest of the full co-operation of the people. These are means by which India will become a renewed, self-relying and sincerely loyal partner in a united Empire.

India in the Australian Senate.

[**Senator Reid** delivered the following speech in the Australian Senate in which a strong case was made out for granting Home Rule to India. The "Yellow peril" which haunts the White men of America and of the Far East was perhaps in the mind of some Senators who spoke of Japan and her designs in the Pacific.

As a safeguard Mr. Reid and others with him put forth the plea of knitting together the parts of the British Empire in still closer bonds by giving equal status to all, including India. In this connection his argument "Free India and she will give millions to fight and die for you", will be read with interest in India, for it is precisely this plea which was put forth by Sir Subramaniam, the President of the Home rule League, India, in his letter to President Wilson.]

Several speakers have referred in warning tones to the Eastern menace, and some honourable senators spoke of Japan in anything but respectful language. Even one honorable senator on this side of the chamber said that the bazaars of the East were filled with whispers about this large, desirable and unpopulated country of Australia, and he warned us that if something were not done to increase our population the consequence might be serious. I have never been one of those who feared the Asiatic bogey. Australia has every reason to be proud of and gratified with the honourable way in which Japan has during this War kept her compact with the Mother Country. If Japan had broken her treaty with Great Britain as the Germans broke the treaty regarding the neutrality of Belgium, Australia would have been at her mercy. I think we ought to recognise Japan's strict observance of her treaty obligations. I take the view that the safety of Australia lies in its being an integral part of the Empire.

Empire's Mission to the people of the East.

I regard the Empire as having a mission, not only to the people of Australia, but also to the people of the East, and from my point of view by becoming a live part in the Empire and doing our best in this War, we shall be assuring our own safety and future against Japan or any other menace that may arise in the East. If Britain in her wisdom will recognise the grievances of India, there will be no danger to Australia in future, because India is a part of the Empire that cannot do without. Despite all the mistakes

that have been made, British rule has been for India's benefit. There are 317,000,000 Indian subjects of the British Empire and at the present time their leaders are asking in very earnest tones for Self-Government.

Self-Government to India.

As the Empire is desirous of establishing Self-Government in all small countries I trust that those who meet at the Imperial Conference table will see that India receives her share of self-Government and the right to work out her own salvation as part of the Empire. If that privilege is granted to her and she enters into the councils of the Empire, there will be no menace to Australia from the East because India is strong enough to dominate Asia. Of course, some will say that Australia does not wish to be holden to be a coloured race for its independence but India is as much an integral part of the Empire as is Australia, and if the Empire is to grow we must, as Britishers, have regard to the future solidarity of the Empire, because it stands for peace, progress, liberty, and Self-Government among its own people in a way that no other nation or race has done. We stand before the world as an example of those who have been able to settle Colonies and create Self-Governments. The Commonwealth is one of the examples to the world. In this chamber, we have heard a great deal about the liberty of Australians, and so forth. Where did we get it? We have inherited it from those who built the Old Country. It is not particularly a part of the soil of Australia; it is in the blood of the British race. It was brought here by those who came here. Our Constitution is the result of what Britain has built up in the past, and we can keep it only because we belong to the race and to the British Empire.

India will Supply Millions.

We are all anxious to see the War brought to an end. We do not know when it is going to end; but if the Secretary for India in the Home Government would see his way to granting India Self-Government, there would be no need for the Empire to fear Germany, or any Allies which it might get in Europe; because India could supply millions of men if they were required. No conscription would be necessary; the men would be supplied willingly so long as India was recognised as an integral part of the Empire. This is a thought that has been in my mind all through the War, though I have never mentioned it before in this chamber.

I am a strong conscriptionist. I hold that in a democratic country like this, where we all have an equal voice in the making of laws and equal liberties; all would be able and willing to fight for liberties to the last man and to the last shilling. But that policy is not being carried out, though the Empire is in very straitened circumstances owing to the submarine menace and the lack of man power. As Britain is producing all the munitions for the Empire, she may require outside help. Notwithstanding the part that America may play, I feel that the British Empire with all its might and strength is the one Power that will work for the future settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace. But it can only be done by welding all parts of the Empire. Let India be brought in as an equal with the rest of us. From the point of view of winning the war in which all our liberties are at stake, if India could come to the rescue, it could supply millions of men, some of them the best soldiers we could ever have. It must not be forgotten that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India belong to the Aryan race, as we do. Thousands of them have skins just as white as ours. We are merely a branch of the old Aryan family that went to Europe thousands of years ago.

House of Lords will have to give Home Rule to India.

Senator Manghan.—Does the honorable senator think that the British House of Lords will give Home Rule to India?

Senator Reid.—They will have to give it; and if it came along now the people of India would rally to the Empire and its Allies, and help to smash Germany for all time. If there is any way of getting Mr. Hughes to the Imperial Council, I trust that he will recognise that India is an indispensable part of the Empire. This Senate has passed resolutions that other countries should have Self-Government and Home Rule. It would probably be wise for us to resolve that India as a part of the Empire should be given self-government to work out her own salvation. When the war is over, the British Empire will have a strong part to play in maintaining peace, in bringing about liberty and progress and in establishing Governments where they should be established, allowing each race to work out its own salvation. The British Empire is the only Power that can do this, and for that reason, we should do our best to weld it together for the sake of the future peace of the world.

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" ON THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN INDIA.

The **Home Rule** movement in India is a branch from the main stream of emancipatory feeling that is running throughout the old world. In little over a year it has become more powerful than any other movement that has been seen in India. It has made a clean sweep of educated India. It is hard to find an Indian youth of the educated classes that is not on fire with the hope it inspires. Already it has its branches in every province in India, and Home Rule reading-rooms and bookshops in all the larger towns. All the leading cities have several daily papers full of its propaganda; Madras has three or four, and new papers seem to rise every day. It has captured the Congress at a single blow, brushed aside the Moderates, and elected its leader, Mrs. Besant, president. It has captured newspapers owned by Moderates and dismissed directors unwilling to allow its propaganda in their columns.

The Moderates, men who have been the leaders of Indian reform for a generation, are as much at a loss in the face of this new movement as the Government. It is not only much stronger than any former movement. It is different in character. Reform has hitherto been an intellectual movement in India. Home Rule is for the most part emotional. The older movement rested on the strength of its case. The Home Rule movement rests on the strength of its following. The older movement was led by men like Gokhale, Mehta, Nairaji. The new is led by Tilak and Mrs. Besant. Congress was a purely deliberative body; the Home Rule league is purely propagandist. Its methods are Western. In each town a room or a shop is hired and a supply of Home Rule literature in the vernacular is kept. In the Chandni Chowk at Delhi, where all the races of India—Jats, Punjabis, Sikhs, Pathans, Bengalis—jostle one another in the crowded bazar, it is startling to come on a sign 'Home Rule Reading room and Bookshop.' The sign is bold and the letters are hard and staring. The fact, too, is hard and staring. The local committee, mostly young men of the educated classes, meet every Sunday to arrange meetings in the neighbouring villages during the week, which they address in turn. Propaganda of this kind, familiar enough in England, has been unknown in India hitherto. The League has plenty of funds, it has many wealthy patrons and the young men give their time and labour to the cause without stint.

Anglo-Indians speak of educated Indians as a "microscopic minority," but their intellectual output is immense. Every day brings forth a new pamphlet. Several different series have already appeared—the Home Rule series, the New India series, the Servants of India series, and others. For the most part they are well and temperately written, and make very effective use of the various declarations of our statesmen in favour of self-government. The manifesto that was presented to Mr. Montagu by the Home Rule League quoted Mr. Lloyd George: "The leading principle is that the wishes of inhabitants must be the supreme consideration in the settlement; in other words, the formula adopted by the Allies with regard to the disputed territories in Europe is to be applied equally in the tropical countries." President Wilson's speeches and addresses are reprinted. Every speech made in England, every declaration of our aims, every volume of Hansard, every book of politics, is watched and searched by the army of Home Rule workers for propaganda. Nothing escapes them, and being full of enthusiasm, their industry knows no limits. For the first time in her history Indian's millions are beginning to get a political education.

Repression would do more.

At the same time there is no idea of breaking the British connection. One hears little or nothing in India of an "Indian Republic." Separation is out of the question. Indians regard the two countries as thrown together by Providence like man and wife, for better or for worse. An Indian reformer grows very angry if you suggest to him that too brisk a propaganda might end in more Home Rule than Indians would like. India does not brood over past wrongs as Ireland does. The splendour of British ideals in India as laid down in the Proclamation of 1858 appeals strongly to the imagination of young India. As to the future, the young Indian's optimism has a note of confidence that is startling. "We do not ask the British to grant us Home Rule," said one of the League officials to the writer. "We ask God to grant it; we ask Him to hear our prayer if it be His will." "For myself, I am by no means sure," he added, "that five years of repression would not do more for us than Mr. Montagu's substantial measure of reform."

It is claimed by the League and denied by its opponents that the movement is a genuine Nationalist movement of the nineteenth-century type. The point of the claim is that if it is a genuine Nationalist movement it is a big thing and must command respect.

But there are few points of resemblance between this movement of an intelligentsia agitating for a place within their ruler's domain and the Nationalist uprisings of last century in Europe. Their ideals are Nationalist, and they speak a common tongue—English—but there the resemblance ends. The Indian movement belongs to an era of Nationalism. It seeks liberty, but liberty within the group. It is a demand not for the overthrow of a conqueror but for admission to his household.

Sources of Inspiration.

To understand what is happening in India it is necessary to try to realise the atmosphere in which young India lives and the reverberations thereof caused our declarations about freedom in Europe. From one point of view years of experience in India are a hindrance to such an understanding. It is not India that is our problem at the moment, but the heart and mind of young Indians whom we have educated. The youngmen see India freshly as a new-comer sees it, and to a new-comer the fact that stands out in India, like Kinchenjunga at dawn, as definite as the Taj in the moonlight, is that in his own country the Indian is a subject and inferior people. Nothing that one has read about India prepares one for the solidity of that fact. To the European in India this startling discovery has become commonplace, one of the ideas associated with India, like the Indian sun. Even to Indians of the older generation it has become commonplace, too, and that has cost the Moderate his leadership. But the young men feel it most acutely ever new.

In India daily intercourse between the races is not governed by the policy of the Government of India Act of 1833, or the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. There is no attempt in everyday life to give practical expression to the declaration of equality among the subjects of his Majesty. Wherever Europeans and Indians meet, whether in the street, or the train, or the steamboat, the relation between them is the simple one of ruler and ruled. Intercourse between the races is carried on always with this in mind. The prestige of the ruling race must be maintained. It is astonishing with what skill and address this immense structure is maintained, particularly by young men of good family. One is almost moved to regret the various democratic upheavals that have deprived these young Olympians of the opportunity to exercise their great talents at home. Even Indian Nationalists like and admire them. But Europeans in India are not all men of the highest breeding, and

the doctrine of the prestige of the Raj in less exalted quarters is allowed a more natural expression and evokes a more natural response.

How long ere thou take station? How long ere thralls live free?

Such is the motto of the League printed on the cover of all its pamphlets. Political equality is merely a means to an end. The end is social equality, the abolition of all that would suggest that the Indian is not as good as the European. "How long ere the thralls live free?" is the true inspiration of the Home Rule League. And it is that call which has brought to the banner of Home Rule a most heterogeneous collection. Politicians that in the West would be divided into a hundred warring sects—landlords and single-taxers, zamindars and agrarian agitators, capitalists and strike organisers, Protectionists and Freetraders—all are gathered into the fold. A busy Collector, with no other place to put him, keeps a big zemindar waiting under a tree for a couple of hours among a crowd of his social inferiors. Straightway a Home Rule recruit is made. A Bombay mill-owner taking a holiday in a remote province, meets an official on horseback. To quote the millowner, "He looked at me keenly as I passed. Then he stopped his horse. 'Stop' he said, and I stopped. 'Haven't you the common courtesy to salute' he said. 'Why should I salute?' I asked. 'Do you not know who I am?' he said. 'I do not,' I replied. 'I am the Commissioner of the District,' he replied. 'No doubt,' I said, 'but if you were the Lieutenant Governor I am not bound to salute you. The viceroy himself would not expect it.' 'Who are you?' he said. 'Where do you come from?' 'Are you going to settle in this district?' 'That is not my intention,' I replied, with a smile. And he rode on frowning." On his way home the same millowner was violently abused at the railway station for opening the door of a lady's compartment to let his wife in. Result, another wealthy patron for the League.

It must not be supposed that all this is mere wanton rudeness on the part of Anglo-Indians. It is not. These things arise inevitably out of the position of the white community, like small islands in an ocean of humanity. But they provide the chief motive for the Nationalist movement and put steam into its propaganda. It is these facts which have made Indians sink their differences and unite to attain a common end. Politically the Home Rule movement is a

State within a State. It stretches from the extreme left of Tilak and Srinivasa Sastri to the rajas and landowners on the extreme right. All classes come into its net—landlords who think the permanent settlement a stroke of genius, land reformers who would make an end of it to-morrow. Hindu revivalists, Mahomedan revivalists, all are one in the desire to walk erect in their own streets like other people. "If the Japanese and the Chinese and the Peruvians and the Brazilians and the Nicaraguans can manage their own affairs, surely we can also."

India in Revolution.

[The following article from the pen of Mr. Bernard Houghton, appeared in the "Positivist Review" of.....1918. Mr. Houghton's clear unclouded perception of Indian problems and his courageous and far-reaching advice to his countrymen as to the handling of the present day India entitles him to a position amongst the Statesmen who are now sitting in Paris. See also his article in India, p.....]

It is seldom that the great political questions which agitate foreign lands are presented to English readers with impartiality. The correspondents of the Press agencies are usually influenced by the traditions and interests of the classes in which they move; nor are the agencies themselves by any means free from bias. The news supplied from India is a case in point. It presents events entirely as seen through European eyes. Every event, even of trivial importance, that can militate against the grant of the Indian demands, is promptly telegraphed, whilst the great and orderly meetings, the overwhelming evidence of national movement and awakening, are passed by in silence. Hence it is that the British public remains in profound ignorance of the real conditions in India. It does not even "see through a glass darkly"; what little it sees is so distorted as to be a mere travesty of the truth. The real facts of the case are that India is stirred to its depths by the ideal of self-government; the whole empire is electrified by the spirit of nationalism, with its hope of increased self-respect, of a real national life, of progress on the basis of an ancient civilisation, hallowed to Indians by untold centuries. It is a revolution, albeit an orderly revolution. With the exception of the revolution in China, we are witnessing what is, at least numerically, the greatest movement in the history of mankind. So swift is the progress of the new ideas in

India that measures which might suffice in one year will in the next be almost outside the range of practical politics. That is a fact of which it behoves our statesmen to take note. The phenomenon is not confined to India. The startling rapidity of the revolution in China, the diffusion like a lightning flash of Bolshevik idea in Siberia, are within the recollection of all. It is to this cause that is due the failure of the Morley-Minto constitution. Issued with the announcement that it must suffice India for a generation, it would save for the truce at first called by the war, have been barely adequate for a lustrum. True, it was administered by the Simla Government in so unsympathetic a spirit that the Councils have come to be regarded as "a cynical and calculated sham." But essentially it was a measure which could offer but the briefest of pauses in the struggle between the peoples of India and their Government. It failed in that it made no provision for the already strong desire for self-determination. With this object lesson in view, few who know the present-day conditions in India will think that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report goes too far. The peril is rather that the reforms, already belated, may not satisfy even temporarily existing aspirations. Unless they find acceptance now, it is unlikely that they will endure for long or that the gathering clouds of ill-will and discontent will be dissipated in the sunshine of a healthy national life.

The Reform Report.

In many respects the Report will have the assent of all progressive minds. The peremptory order to free local boards from official trammels, the at least partial abolition of communal representation, the elected Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, the increased Indian element in the Executive, and the reform of the Council of India here all mark a notable advance and evince true statesmanship. So too does the division in the Provincial Governments of subjects into reserved and transferred, a scheme which probably offers the best solution of the problem of how to pass from a bureaucratic to a truly popular form of government.

But the proposal that the Indian minister in charge of the transferred heads should be irremovable by the Assembly will never do. Suppose, as will quite probably happen, that the minister is at variance with the Assembly on some vital question of policy. The Assembly will not vote on his proposals, they will cease to have confidence in him, yet they will be unable to remove him from office.

The result will remove him from office. The result will be a deadlock inside the Assembly and violent agitation without. Unless, too, the minister represents the majority in the Assembly there is no real education in self-government. Surely the better way is to have the minister, as in our own Constitution, responsible to the Assembly, and his terms of office contingent on its confidence.

The chief defect in the Report concerns the Government of India. That Government is regarded by Indians, and with reason, as the entrenched citadel of officialdom, the incarnation of all that is bad in the bureaucratic regime. Yet the proposals leave it practically unreformed. Though the official block disappears from the Imperial Assembly, a Council of State is created which answers the same purpose. The Assembly becomes in fine a mere Advisory Council. Is that a step towards self-government or political responsibility? Is it an un-reformed central government likely to administer the new constitution with sympathy? Surely not. The mere addition of an Indian member to the Executive Council will not remedy matters. What is required is the division of the portfolios into reserved and transferred, the latter being in charge of a minister responsible to the Assembly, exactly as I have suggested in the Provinces. Such an amendment would go far towards liberalising the Simla bureaucracy; it should strike the imagination of India, whilst providing a real half-way house on the road to popular government. As matters stand the covert sneer in the Report—surely not from the pen of Mr. Montagu—"Hanoz Dihli dur ast," (Delhi is yet far off) has only too much justification. From the comparative seclusion of Simla and Delhi bureaucracy still smiles, serene and unabashed, on the gathering hostility of a united India. In a recent speech Mr. Montagu affirmed that the reason why the reforms were so limited was the division by religion, race, and caste of Indian society. As the harshness of this division tends to disappear further steps forward will be possible. But if so, why is Burma, which is free from such division not included in the scheme of reform? The Burmese, who are strongly patriotic, are just as well suited as the rest of India for a democratic polity, except in one particular—they have not conducted a menacing agitation to that end. The conclusion is obvious.

In proportion as a people becomes patriotic and has scope for national development in the form of free institutions, the acerbities due to class and religious cleavage tend to disappear. Man has only room for one great object of devotion. Make patriotism that

object—indeed patriotism in its truest and best sense is closely akin to Positivism—and the estrangements due to religion, race or class fade away. All classes tend to become not mutual foes but brothers, their hatreds and repugnances dissolved in the love of their common fatherland. We have seen the process at work in the United States, in Canada and in South Africa. Signs of it are already visible in India, witness the historic pact of Lucknow in December, 1916, between Hindus and Mohammadans. The freer the scope now given for national aspirations, the quicker will be the progress of this beneficent force.

The other great countries of Asia-- Japan, China and Siberia—have each had their Revolution whereby they exchanged absolutism and stagnatism for democratic ideals. It is now the turn of India. We may hope that, unlike the happiness in those countries, the Revolution in India will move by peaceful stages. But peace or violence, bloodshed or orderly development, hang on whether the British Government and public realise the momentum of the forces that confront them, and, in sympathy with these forces, give adequate scope for their development.

SIR RABINDRA NATH TAGORE IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

The Meeting of the East and the West.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been bared open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and domineer and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghosts but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as of Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites

each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral prospective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them upto a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies, and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of

history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europeans attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity ; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selection and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gains and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own force under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak, and brandishing it with vengefulness and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangements. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaism to have faith only in

building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiarism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them ; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness, and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also man's own accumulation may produce the self-abasement, which is spiritual apathy, by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth, and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion.

THE "TEXTILE MERCURY" ON INDIAN TRADE.

The following is an extract from the Textile Mercury of Manchester which strongly exposes the inequity of the British Commercial and Industrial policy towards India.

Cotton Cultivation and Manufacture.

India not only is, but was, growing cotton, spinning and manufacturing, centuries before cotton was seen in this country. . . . Indian muslin used to be one of the finest fabrics woven long years before a single bale of cotton had been grown in America. Indeed almost before we began to use American cotton in this country, so serious did we consider the competition of Indian muslins with Lancashire products that in 1790 they were prohibited from being imported into this country. Cotton was first grown in America in 1786. If therefore the staple of Indian cotton has deteriorated, it is an open question as to how far the United Kingdom has contributed to this very unfortunate result by preventing the importation of her finest products. It is certain that this action of Great Britain if not absolutely the cause was largely contributory to this disastrous result, disastrous alike to Indian cotton growing, spinning and manufacturing, and to Lancashire by depriving her for long years of an alternative supply of suitable cotton.

With such a large number of its people depending upon cotton growing and manufacturing, India has for long years been desirous of regulating the importation of foreign power-woven fabrics, in the interests of its hand-loom and power-loom workers. . . .

The British Government compels India against her will to open her markets freely to foreign manufacture in accordance with the policy adopted in this country in 1861. The great self-governing dominions will have none of it. Canada, Australia, South Africa are free and unfettered in this respect. India is bound by our insular folly. But worse has to be recorded. When the Indian Government proposed an all round import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for revenue purposes, she was compelled, at the instance of Lancashire, to impose an excise duty to the same amount upon all Indian manufactures of the same classes. No other British exporting industry has asked for or received such special treatment. This policy is enforced upon India, not for her good, but admittedly and solely in the interests of Lancashire. It will readily be understood that this excise duty is far from popular in India. It does seem curious for Lancashire to boast of her world supremacy, and yet to stand in

such fear of a possible $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advantage in goods made from coarse counts. We are told by Lancashire's spokesmen that Lancashire does not want coarse goods business and is quite content to let the foreigner make them, as she concentrates on fine goods. The position is not logical. If we are quite willing that the foreigner should make his own coarse counts, why prevent India from doing the same?

Some Trade Relations with India and the United States.

Exports of Cotton Manufactures (excluding yarn) from the United Kingdom Annual average, 1909-12

To the United States	£3,095,000
To India	£27,476,000

India therefore, buys annually from us nine times as much as America.

Incidence of Trade Between the United Kingdom, India, and the United States. (Board of Trade Memorandum).

Imports from India, £57 millions, average duty levied on same by U. K.

£5,300,000

Imports from U. S. A.
average duty levied on same by U. K.

£123 millions,
£850,000

Exports to India, £58 millions, average duty levied by India.

2 percent Exports to

U. S. A. 839 millions, average duty levied by U. S. A.
73 per cent-

The disproportion between the amount of duty levied by Great Britain upon India and American produce is very striking, as is the discrepancy in the duties levied by them on British produce. And yet in the face of this glaring inequality of treatment, apart altogether from the relative deserts of the two countries, when in 1903 the greatest Colonial Minister the Empire ever had, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, proposed that some of the tax of 5d per lb on Indian tea should be transferred to American wheat or flour, English gentlemen denounced the proposal as a tax on food. Was it in ignorance? Was it due to arly prejudice? Or was it—? It was.

JUSTICE TO INDIA.

Prior to 1858 India was under the administration of a commercial company. In 1858 the British Government took over the

reins from the East India Company, and since then India has been an integral part of the Empire. There was then, and there is now, a general desire on the part of the people of these islands that her Government should be absolutely impartial, to her own good and as far as may be in consonance with her own wishes and ideals. Can any man say in face of the recorded facts that this is the case in matters industrial and commercial? One of the most glorious pages in the history of the British Empire is that which records how on the outbreak of war in 1914 the millions of our fellow subjects in India sprang to the side of Britain. Equal justice to India! Nay, more than equal justice, large-hearted generosity is her due. How better can this oneness in ideal be resented and perpetuated than by finding men to guide and means to provide for the restoration to its old high standard of her cotton industry. And even as we should thus be greatly benetting the millions of our Indian fellow subjects most of whom are always living very near to the border line of poverty and famine, we should also be greatly helping ourselves by rising their financial status, at one and the same time be providing a supply of raw material for Lankashire spindles from the cotton fields of India.

India's Population Poorest in the World.

We now turn to another branch of the cotton industry. The manufactured product from the raw material: its distribution. Of the total annual product of the industry we have seen that five-eighths is exported. The amount exported annually on the average of the five years 1909-13, yarn and manufactures taken together, was £112 millions. To India alone we exported out of the total £29 millions. In the case of raw cotton we have seen that the law of the even distribution of load is seriously infringed by depending upon one single country, the United States of America, for three-fourths of our supply. The same thing is repeated in the case of the disposal of the manufactured product from the raw material. We depend upon one country, India taking more than one fourth of the total exports. It is true that she has a large population, it is also true that it is the poorest population in the world. The policy hitherto adopted of putting a brake on the internal industrial development of India is disastrous, in that it consists of the senseless performance described in ancient adage as 'killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.' It is certain that in the not very distant future America will absorb all the cotton she grows.

Agricultural Suicide in England.

Before leaving this branch of the subject it may be as well to point out that the operation of Nature's laws and forces is not confined to the cotton industry. 'The Reign of Law' is all embracing. We will cite a few other industries in order 'to point a moral or adorn a tale.' Agriculture is the greatest of all our national industries, and not only intrinsically but extrinsically, of great importance to the country at large. Food is the first necessity of the people. A prosperous agricultural industry is conducive to the commonweal, in that while on the one hand it supplies food, on the other it is a purchaser of the goods from the manufacturing districts. A depressed agriculture is, on the converse, a dead weight on the manufacturing interests. The relative importance of agriculture is clearly shown by the following comparison of production and persons engaged.

Census of Production (1907)

	Production.	No. of persons employed.
Agriculture	£210,000,000	988,210
Cotton	176,000,000	572,869
Coal Mining	123,000,000	840,240
Iron and Steel	105,000,000	262,225

In 1861, 1,803,049 persons were engaged in agriculture, so that in 40 years the number of persons employed in it had fallen to one-half. Over a million acres had gone out of cultivation and agricultural land values, i.e. rents, had decreased by millions sterling. And we are living in a fool's paradise, depending upon America for one fourth of the imported food of the people.

'Dynamics is the science that deals with force and inertia. Cotton Dynamics is the same with a difference ; it deals with forces and inertia.' With these words we commenced our investigation. You can not see the forces of nature, you see the effects of operation of forces and the laws which control them. So in the cotton industry the effects of the forces are what we see. What then have we seen ?

India Dumping Ground of the World.

The principal cause of the decreasing trade with foreign countries is due to the establishment by them of cotton industries of their own. For the better development of these British goods are excluded by means of heavy duties. The lowest average on cotton

goods is in the case of Italy 37 per cent and highest average is Russia with 203 per cent duty. The highest specific duty is levied by the S. A. viz., 375 per cent on sewing cotton. These foreign countries which began by excluding British goods, so as to enable their home markets to be supplied by their own manufactures, finally produced a surplus, for which they had to find a market. By our action in 1861 of abolishing the duties upon all manufactured goods, we provided for the surplus the only great open market of the world. It was then to the British Empire that the surplus manufactures of all the foreign countries came duty free.

In face of the fact that foreign countries were raising what were tantamount to prohibitive duties against our manufactures, we deliberately threw away the only weapon for self-defence which we possessed—the power to bargain. Those foreign countries had us at their mercy, and from then till now they have mercilessly punished our manufactures, while building up their own, till they have become formidable opponents not *only* in all the foreign markets, where they have trading advantages over us, but also in the United Kingdom where by fair means or foul they are undermining and destroying one British industry after another, compelling us at the same time, helplessly, to buy from their own trade essentials, at their own prices.

The exports of textile machinery to foreign countries has increased *pari passu* with the decrease in the exports of cotton goods. Japan is an Ally; she excludes British cotton goods by import duties and that notwithstanding, is allowed free entry to all British Empire markets, except those of the self-governing Dominions. The English language has the largest and richest vocabulary in the world, and yet it can not supply words strong enough to suitably describe the ineffable folly of one-eyed politicians, with that solitary option fixed upon the ballot box."

INDIA IN JAPAN.

Marquis Okuma on India.

[In "the Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association" of January last Marquis Okuma contributes an article on "The Post-Bellum Mission of Japan" in which he obligingly refers among other matters to India which is indeed very interesting.]

First of all, let us be liberal and large-minded enough to appreciate and sympathise with China. Her people belong to the same race as we, and use the same written language as ours, and it ought to be no difficult question for us to enter into more intimate national and economical relations with them than at present. In addition to this, let us endeavour to establish closer intimacy with the Southern Pacific Islands, and what is vastly more important, with India. The nations of the East can not generally be regarded as highly advanced, and it is the duty of Japan to guide and assist them in their onward progress. She can thus make a valuable contribution to the peace of the world and to the advancement of civilisation.

Let me speak of India a little more. Several months ago, Mr. R. D. Tata, a member of the famous Tata House of Bombay, visited this country. He complained that it is to be much regretted that the Japanese do not pay due respect to the Indian people ; although the latter welcome the former as friends, some of the former, imitating the example set before them by Englishman, are apt to treat the Indian people with contempt, and that under such circumstances it would not be possible for the Indians to be on terms of intimacy with the Japanese, however much the former may desire it, the result being that the feelings of Indians towards Japanese are generally undergoing a change for the worse.

Such is the cry of disappointment of the Indian people. Their trust in us and their sympathy with us seem to be undergoing a test, and if this state of things continues much longer, friendship between the two peoples will suffer, perhaps irrevocably. This is, indeed, a very serious question with us, and so long as our people do not acknowledge their own fault and determine to be wiser, they can never be expected to achieve any considerable economical or political success in foreign countries, for to be a great people, we must entirely do away with egotism and race prejudice, and while we endeavour to develop ourselves, we must show respect for and sympathy with other peoples, and assist them in their efforts to progress.

If intimate national and economical relations can be established between all the countries of the East, and their co-operation secured, then the peace of the Orient will be a great contribution towards securing the peace of the world and the happiness of mankind. Such has been, and will be, my ideal.

If China can be developed and advanced by the efforts of Japan, no only the East, but also the whole world will be benefitted.

ON TAPAN AND INDIA

Considering Japan's geographical position and her historical and racial relations with China, it is evident that she is better fitted than any other nation for the accomplishment of this noble task. Again, if Japan can become more intimate with the Southern Pacific Islands and with India, this in itself will be instrumental in bringing us to a better understanding with England and other powers. The East and the West can thus be united in a much closer tie of friendship, which will be a great step towards securing the peace of the world.

Situated outside the sphere of Western civilisation, Japan has yet been able to make wonderful progress by adopting and digesting, by means of a special aptitude, western science and civilization. On this account the Japanese are often criticised as unsurpassed in imitative traits but lacking in creative genius. It is not necessary for us to enter into a discussion of this criticism which, however, our people should always bear in mind and endeavour to be more earnest in political, economical, social and other matters. Unless we do so, we can never have a civilisation of which we can boast that it is our very own.

Perhaps the only means of securing the lasting peace of the world is to be found in the thorough understanding between, and the eager co-operation of, the Japanese, Slavs, Germans, French, English and people of the United States. Whether this can be realised as the outcome of the present war still remains to be seen. Meanwhile, it will be well for us Japanese to be more liberal and magnanimous to appreciate the urgent need of the united efforts of the different races for the establishment of peace, and to attempt to come to a more complete understanding of, and greater sympathy with the economical and political situations, as well as thoughts and ideals of other peoples, so that our beloved Nation as the Peace-Maker of the East may discharge its duty to perfection.

INDIA IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A mass meeting of the Indian Community was held in January last in the Muhaminadan Madrassa Hall, Durban, for the purpose of considering the advisability of placing their grievances and demands before the proper authorities and also to elect delegates for the forthcoming South African Conference.

Mr. A. D. Padia presided and Mr. J. M. Francis acted as the Secretary.

The Chairman in the course of his speech, said :—We have now assembled here for the purpose of considering what steps to take in regard to matters connected with the great National Movement taking place both in South Africa and India.

After referring to the Allied victories in the War, he said :

At a time when the phase of the civilised world is going to be evolutionised, as a sequel to this great war, we South African Indians, want to know, where do we come in the adjustment of the new state? We have patiently waited all these years with the hope that the Union Government will spontaneously right our wrongs and inaugurate the proverbial British System of Administration, based and acted upon equality and justice, but unhappily, as yet we find no signs of its forthcoming from any responsible quarter, we have no other choice in the matter than to submit our present condition to the British people with a view to enable them to judge it in the new light of things.

It is a matter of great pleasure for me to state here that our countrymen from all parts of South Africa are going to assemble in Cape Town next week for the purpose of deciding an uniform course of action for promoting the cause of the South African Indians. This is the first time that a United South African Indian Conference is going to be held, and I believe, I am echoing the opinion of all assembled here when I say, that we wish every success to the Conference, and we ardently hope and pray that good will come out of the Conference.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed :

"This mass meeting of the Indians of Natal respectfully ventures to urge the claim of British Indian Subjects for the extension of of Franchise rights and this meeting prays that the Union Government will be pleased to introduce the necessary legislation in the Union Government.

In view of the fact that since the absorption of the four Self-governing Colonies into the Union, British Indian Subjects have derived very little benefit therefrom, this mass meeting, in order to render the Union a meaningful expression, requests the Union Government to remove the inter-state restrictions placed upon the free movement of Indians throughout the Union."

South African Indian Conference.

The following are among the resolutions passed at the Conference held in January last—

"In view of the fact that since the inauguration of the Union, British Indian subjects here derived very little benefit therefrom, and as the word 'Union' has been rendered a meaningless expression by the perpetuation of a parochial policy, this conference of Indians, representing the Cape, Transvaal and Natal, resolves to ask the Union to amend the laws that operate oppressively against British Indians, including the Act that prohibits the free movement of Indians throughout the Union."

"That this Conference of the Indian community, representing Natal, Cape and the Transvaal, respectfully ventures to draw the attention of the Union Government to the advisability of repealing the laws governing the indentured Indian immigration into Natal, as the Government of this Union and India have abolished the indenture system, and seeing that the existence of the Indian Immigration Trust Board is inimical to the interests of the Indian labouring class, this conference respectfully prays that the Government will be pleased to take into their immediate consideration the request contained herein."

It was decided that a deputation be appointed to wait on the Minister of the Interior and to submit the resolutions passed at the Conference for his consideration.

"Having regard to the fact that since the formation of the South African Union, British Indian subjects have derived no benefit therefrom and as the laws founded on account of colour still disfigure the statute books of the Union, inflicting considerable hardship, annoyances and injustice to British Indian subjects, this Conference of the Indian community in Natal, Cape and the Transvaal respectfully ventures to ask the Imperial Government and other Allied Powers not to concede the conquered territories in German West Africa to the Union Government until the latter Government repeals all the obnoxious laws enacted on racial and religious grounds, and restore to them the rights of which they were deprived and to which they are entitled, being equal tax-payers to the State. This Conference authorises the Chairman to cable the foregoing resolution to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

"The Conference resolves to send at least two Indian delegates from each Province of the Union to attend the special session of the Indian National Congress to be held in London, in order to support the claim of their motherland for autonomy, and that this Conference authorises the delegates to place the cause of the S. A. Indians before all constituted authorities and others who are capable of wielding authority over the Union Government, with a view to securing equal rights for all civilised peoples in South Africa."

"This Conference resolves to establish a committee consisting of 36 members, each of the Provinces contributing 12 members, for the purpose of devising ways and means of bringing about a unification of the Indians in the Union, and authorises this committee to submit a constitution for consideration to the next South African Conference."

"The Conference strongly protests against the action of the local authorities of the Cape Province in refusing to grant licences to Indians solely on account of nationality, and urging on the Provincial Council the necessity to amend the Ordinance so as to allow an appeal to the Supreme Court."

In pursuance of the resolution passed by the South African Indian Conference a deputation consisting of all the delegates from Natal, the Transvaal, and the Cape, headed by the president Sheik Ismail, waited on Sir Thomas Watt, Minister of the Interior, by the end of January.

Mr. M. Alexander in introducing the deputation referred to the fact that that was the first Conference of Indians held in South Africa.

Mr. P. S. Aiyar, on behalf of the deputation, read a statement giving an exhaustive resume of the positions of Indians in the Union, and suggested remedies that would meet the requirements of Indians domiciled in that country.

Mr. M. C. Anglia stated the grievances of Indians in Natal while Mr. P. K. Naidoo, on behalf of the Transvaal delegates, ventilated their grievances; and Dr. Gool spoke for the Cape Indians.

The Minister after a patient hearing expressed himself sympathetically and the deputation withdrew after thanking the minister.

SIR J. D. REES ON INDIA.

[The following appeared in the "Reynold's News of November last over the signature of Sir J. D. Rees, M.P.]

The so-called Montagu proposals are not Mr. Montagu's proposals. He is a part, and, being who and what he is, necessarily a large part, of them, but they are the joint proposals of himself and of Lord Chelmsford. It was Lord Chelmsford, who, succeeding Lord Hardinge as Viceroy, found conditions in India such, that as a practical and moderate man of statesmanlike views and attitude, such as he has always proved himself hitherto to be, he considered an advance in the direction of self-government an urgent necessity, such as could not wait till after the War. Indeed, he found the pressure of War, and the conduct of Indian princes and peoples during its progress, such as to precipitate the necessity for giving at once an instalment of a Constitution, the eventual grant of which has been inevitable ever since we ourselves decided to educate India in Western ideas of Government. We created in fact an intelligentsia, resembling in many respects that which next after German intrigue contributed in no inconsiderable, if not in the chief degree, to the ruin of a Russia, in which there was no place and no occupation for a generation brought up on a diet of modern democracy.

German gold and German intrigue indeed stimulated this body in India also into sedition, if not into revolt, and Lord Chelmsford made such representations to the then Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, that he arranged to go out to India to inquire and confer with the Viceroy. His unexpected resignation and Mr. Montagu's appointment to succeed him, transferred this duty to the latter statesman, whom I have known throughout his Parliamentary career as a man of very great ability, with a high sense of public duty.

His proposals for the better government of India have been strongly attacked at a recent meeting of the new Indo-British Association, but if the House of Commons is any reflex of public opinion, and if the Councils of the Secretary of State and of the Viceroy, composed of the most distinguished Indian authorities of the day, are judges of Indian questions, the view of the new Association are not likely to prevail. If the question were, what form of Government is best for India, there would be a great deal

to say for their attitude, and it is by no means certain that the proposed changes will lead to better government.

But the question is what steps are to be taken and when to carry out a pledge given last August in Parliament to the effect that the policy of the Government shall be the gradual development of self-governing institutions in view to the ultimate realisation of responsible Government in India.

The policy may of course be mistaken. But there is no mistake possible as to its acceptance in the democratic House, and as to the necessity for giving effect to those, or to somewhat similar reforms.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that if these proposals are not accepted and acted upon without any avoidable delay justifiable disappointment will result, and further difficulty experienced in governing India. The best proof of their moderate character is that extremists in both directions, and particularly the Indian extremists, will have none of them, while they appear to satisfy moderate men at home and in India.

Everything must now await the result of the General Election, but all the news from India, and the results of such inquiries as had been held since Mr. Montagu's return, confirm the position taken by him and Lord Chelmsford, and proves that India by its articulate section will accept what is offered by way of reform, but wants it without delay.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD ON INDIAN CONGRESS.

(Labour Leader—Sept., 1918).

The Indian National Congress seems to have split for good upon the Montagu Report, but so unreliable are newspapers and press cables that we must reserve final opinion until the Indian mails arrive some weeks hence. Meanwhile certain obvious facts may be pointed out and accepted.

Before the Montagu Report came to drive a wedge through Congress, the wedge was there. The old leaders never accepted Mrs. Besant, Mr. Tilak and the new Home Rule movement.

The men who had grown up in the earlier stages of India's demand for a liberal political policy found that their success came in the form, not of a political triumph against the Government, but of a new movement in the Indian opinion, far bolder in its expressions and demands and much more fundamental in its conception of political liberties.

This new movement brought new leaders ; it was more moving than the old in its appeal and brought new adherents. Mrs. Besant emerging from Adyar and the more confined fields of theosophy, slipped to the front and joined hands with Mr. Tilak. In many quarters she was not acceptable, but in the more advanced sections she was, and her contributions by voice and pen, enormously aided by the stupid persecution of the Government, have given her a status and the Home Rule movement an impetus which they would not otherwise have had.

The new adherents also made the movement for the first time "popular." The old Congress did lack a popular mass. It had the support of the educated and the middle class. It was just open to the suspicion that it was a movement of landowner's, capitalists, and lawyers, and some of its resolutions on political subjects and its neglect of certain popular interests gave colour to that suspicion. Now, village life has been influenced and political tides have made their motions felt at greater depths in Indian existence than ever before. India has gone far and fast during the last four years.

That being so, another change was inevitable.

Hitherto India has had to appear to be unanimous. The Congress was an Indian movement against a non-Indian bureaucracy, and this had to remain so until the fate of the bureaucracy was settled, and the general claims of India admitted. Then it was no longer a United India demanding the recognition of Indian rights that was required, but the rights being recognised, an India of various schools of opinion and outlook, working out India's destinies by conflict, debate, and rival methods. Congress has divided because a united Congress has done its work. My old Congress friends, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Surendranath Banerjee and the others must see in this their own success even if they are sad that events have taken this form.

Mrs. Besant, with her British political experience, will not miss the significance of what has happened and ought to be able to give

the new movement wise guidance. What we are seeing is the natural evolution of a right and a left wing in Indian politics, consequential upon the freeing of the Indian political mind to discuss Indian political policy on its own merits and not merely as against the political policy of the bureaucracy.

So far from regretting the division, I believe it is natural, and I should welcome the definite formation of two wings—provided the right keeps decidedly Indian and does not allow the left to force it into an unnatural alliance with the bureaucracy, and of this I see no signs. I have the fullest trust in the Moderate leaders. They have still a great contribution to make to Indian political liberty. Their attitude to the Montagu Report is intelligent, consistent, and wise, and they will have enormous influence in modifying it in the right direction and in reaping from it a rich harvest.

SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER.

But the left is also essential. India now requires robust independent thought and action. When Sir Subramanya Iyer flung back his knighthood at the feet of the Government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which is to awake India from a subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening.

The life of India is to depend upon the two sides honestly and fearlessly setting forth their own views independently of each other, but with a sense of responsibility and tolerance. The days of meaningless compromise declarations, patchworks of the opinions of both sides and acceptable in reality to neither, have passed. India must know what its sections reply, think and choose between them. Perhaps our own Labour movement is going through a somewhat similar evolution.

On the actual points of immediate division little can be said with profit, till we have full reports of the Special Congress in front of us. The comments cabled here are pettifogging. There is agreement that the Montagu Report must be taken as a basis, must be criticised and amended. That a time limit should be placed upon the transition stage between the bureaucracy and self-

government I consider to be of very minor importance. Indian public opinion will settle that if it be worth its salt.

That kind of guarantee is always elusive. That there should be an agreement on the details of self-government I believe to be of the greatest importance, and of equal importance is a determination to eliminate from the Scheme all committees and councils and powers which, set up nominally for the transition period, will acquire such authority during it that they will become blocks in the end to the realisation of a proper system of self-government.

I should therefore concentrate opinion on the abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, the appointment of two Under-secretaries, one of whom should be an Indian, and an arrangement of councils and executives which should take political control out of the hands of civil servants and put it in those of the elected legislatures. That done, we may trust that the system will evolve itself, and the creation of a real public opinion in India will take care that the evolution is not unnecessarily delayed.

SIR. S. P. SINHA AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE.

Speaking at a conference of the Overseas Press Deputation in Oct. 1918, on the situation in India and the bearing of the proposed changes of the constitution upon it, Sir S. P. Sinha (now Lord) said:—

It had been always understood that the ultimate goal to the system of government in India should be responsible government. It was small wonder that Indians who had been educated on English literature should aspire to the introduction to the East of the principles of democracy which had developed in the West. There was no reason to believe that those principles would not work equally as well in other countries as they had among Western nations. All systems of government were progressive and he admitted that India must pass through many stages before she was as well educated in the application of democratic principles as England was. Speaking as an Indian, he would say that the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was valuable not so much because of the measure of immediate performance which it gave, as of the promise of greater performance which it contained. If the scheme was carried out in its main principles, with possibly some of its too cautious checks and counter-checks eliminated, he thought it would give satisfaction to the great bulk of the people of India. Judging from newspaper reports and from communications he had received from India within the last few weeks, he thought he was justified in saying that the more the people of India studied the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme the more

they were coming round to the opinion that it was a measure worthy of their acceptance.

The Economic Situation.

Referring to the economic conditions of India Sir S. P. Sinha said that he noticed the other day that Sir James Meston had been reported as having said that India was in a great state of prosperity. He had reason for believing that Sir James Meston had been misunderstood. It was not a constitution alone that was wanted for India, but contentment and prosperity. However efficient the system of Government might be in India, it would be generally admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed, was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past and was not prosperous now. *India had been the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for the rest of the Empire.* She desired and demanded a place in the Empire worthy of her glorious past, of her present resource, and of the part she had been privileged to bear in this war. With a peaceful people, fertile soil, and unlimited reserves in men and material, there was no reason why India should not be as prosperous as any other part of the Empire. They looked to the rest of the Empire, and particularly to England, to find the remedy. The industrial development of India was the most essential need of the present moment.

Without an increase of prosperity it was useless to expect India to be content and loyal to its connection with the Empire. It was no wonder that the educated classes of India were continually asking what was wrong with the Government, because after all, it was the function of the Government and not of the people to see that there was prosperity in the land. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal in the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things. It was essentially necessary to take steps with regard to the constitution as a means of bringing about contentment and prosperity. What was wanted was democratic government, and there was no reason why it should not work equally as well in India as in any other country. The object of the war was that every people should have the same chance and right of self-development.

INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE

IMMIGRATION PROBLEMS

The following papers regarding reciprocity in matters of immigration between India and the Dominions are published for the information of those interested in the subject :—

Extract from a letter from the Colonial Office to the India Office
From Colonial Office to India Office, No. 35892.

Downing Street, 7th Aug. 1918.

Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Long to transmit to you, to be laid before Mr. Secretary Montagu, copies of an extract from the Fifteenth Day's Proceedings at the Imperial Conference, together with copies of the memorandum prepared by Sir S. P. Sinha.

I am &c.,

HENRY LAMBERT.

To

The Under Secretary of State of India.

ANNEX. I :—**Memorandum by Sir S. P. Sinha.**

The views and recommendations of the Indian representatives on the position of Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions were placed before the War Conference last year in the form of a memorandum which appears as an annexure to the printed report of the Conference. The subject was discussed on Friday the 27th April 1917, and the "Conference unanimously accepted the principle of reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions, and recommended the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned." It is mainly with a view to eliciting information as to whether any action has been actually taken, and, if not, how soon it is likely to be taken by the Government concerned to give effect to our suggestions that a few of the outstanding questions are mentioned in the present note.

2. The Indian grievances dealt with in the last memorandum fall conveniently under the following three groups :—

(1) Treatment of Indians who are already settled and resident in the Self-Governing Dominions.

(2) The difficulties and disadvantages of Indians intending to visit the Dominions not with the object of settlement but for purpose of travel, education, or business.

(3) The question of future immigration to the Dominions.

3. As regards the difficulties of resident Indians, the disability imposed on the Sikh settlers in Canada, numbering about 4,000 men, of not being allowed to bring their wives and minor children to live with them, is a very real and serious hardship, and, as was pointed out in last year's notice, has caused acute dissatisfaction amongst perhaps the most prominent martial race in India and those who flocked with the greatest alacrity to the Indian Army for the defence of the Empire. This unfair and unnatural prohibition is the more galling because the Indians resident in South Africa have, since the passing of the Indians Relief Act of 1914, the privilege of introducing into the Colony one wife as well as her minor children. The Japanese have the right of taking not only their wives, but also their domestic servants. No further time should be lost in removing the prohibition which appears to be in force in Australia also.

4. Of the Indians settled in the Self-Governing Dominions, by far the largest number is domiciled in South Africa. Cape Colony has an Indian population of 6,606, Transvaal of 10,048, Orange Free State of 106, and Natal of 133,031 souls. The Indians Relief Act of 1914 has removed many disabilities, but from reliable materials placed before us it appears that there are still many substantial grievances and disabilities which are not merely of an administrative character, as General Smuts seemed to be under the impression last year, but are based upon already existing or impending statutory enactments.

The following would appear to be some of the principal grievances of South African Indians :—

(1) *Trading Licences.*—It is necessary to obtain a license in order to be able to carry on any trade or business in South Africa. Each Province has its own trading licence legislation, and the tendency recently has been in every Province to transfer the control of licence from the Government to municipalities. Although there is a system of appeals from the decisions of the municipalities, *e. g.*, in Natal to Town Councils or to Licensing Appeal Boards, the right of appeal to the Courts is extremely limited. Thus, in Natal, against refusals of application for new licences there is a right of appeal in matters of procedure, but not of facts, to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, whereas, in cases of refusal to renew licences there is a right of appeal on facts also. It is generally contended that the municipalities arbitrarily refuse to grant licences to Indians with the improper and indirect object of destroying Indian trade, and the Indian newspapers are full of such instances. The trading rights of Indians in South Africa are a

vital issue. If the Indian community remains at the mercy of their European rivals in respect of the right of their members to earn an honest livelihood by trade it is only a question of time for the whole community to become impoverished and be reduced to industrial helotry. The remedy seems to be to give the fullest right of appeal in all cases of refusal of licences to the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court—on questions of fact as well as of procedure.

(2) *Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise.*—As observed in last year's note, there are stronger and more obvious grounds for extending the municipal franchise to the Indians resident in South Africa than the Parliamentary franchise. It might be pointed out, however, that we are nearer to the introduction of representative institutions in India this year than we were last year, and therefore the argument for depriving the African Indians of the franchise on the ground of their coming from a country where representative institutions do not exist will carry still less weight now, and there is a strong case for granting the franchise, at least to the richer Indian merchants. Their claim to the extension of the municipal franchise in all the States seems to be much stronger as this right is enjoyed in Natal and Cape Colony, where some Indians are reported to be discharging municipal functions to their credit. The special necessity for the grant of the municipal franchise will appear from what has already been stated with regard to trade licences.

(3) *The Ownership of Land.*—Unlike their compatriots in Natal and at the Cape, Transvaal Indians, under the old Republican Law 3 of 1885, remain under the disability that they are denied the right to own fixed property, i. e., from having the legal ownership registered in their own names. The system of indirect ownership, in other words, nominal European ownership originally suggested by the Republican Government themselves, prevailed until quite recently, and is still occasionally adopted. The process is round about, cumbersome and expensive, but the facts are notorious, and the circumstances are legally recognised by the Courts.

Since about the year 1914, the practice has grown up of forming and registering, under the Transvaal Companies Act, 1906, small private companies with limited liability, whose members are all Indians (frequently an Indian and his wife), and possessing an independent legal *persona* for the purpose, amongst other things, of acquiring fixed property. All these transactions have recently received judicial recognition. It is said that attempts are now being made by interested parties to deprive Indians of this right of indirect ownership of fixed property. Recently a question was put on the subject in Parliament, and the Government spokesman replied that it was intended to examine into the question, when the new companies law was under consideration. Advantage has frequently been taken by Indians of these indirect, but quite legal, methods to open business in townships whose private regulations prohibit the sale of stands to Indians, which, in themselves, are intended indirectly to compel Indians to reside and trade in special locations, which, again, would mean financial ruin to most of them, and against which attempt the Indian community has fought since long before the Boer War.

On the contrary, the prohibition against Indian ownership of fixed or landed property should be repealed by Parliament, on the grounds that it tends to foster insincerity on all sides, to deprive Indians of some of the

elementary rights and responsibilities of citizenship, which are not denied even to the aboriginal natives and other non-Asiatic coloured peoples of the Province, and which are possessed by their compatriots in the coast Provinces, and especially in Natal, where the bulk of the Indian population of the Union is to be found. Transvaal Indians ought not to be compelled to regard themselves as possessing an inferior status, in this respect, to their compatriots resident in the coast Provinces, and such a statute as Law 8 of 1885 is an anachronism and opposed to the spirit of modern legislation.

(6) *Railway Regulations.*—In the Transvaal, for a number of years past the policy of racial segregation has been enforced on the railways. Special legislation to that end was sought in 1910, but was strenuously opposed by the Indian community, with the result that certain regulations were eventually agreed to, embodied in the papers published in Blue Book Cd. 5963 of 1910 (pages 102-5 and 114), at a time when the Indian community was in a relatively weak position, having its energies fully engaged in the passive resistance struggle which was then at its height, and which left the community powerless effectively to resist further encroachments upon its liberties. But the arrangements therein referred to were of purely local application, and were not intended in any way to affect the position or diminish the rights of Indians in the other Provinces. Recently, however, regulations applicable throughout the Union have been published, some of which have already been withdrawn in deference to strong Indian opposition, while others remain, in spite of that opposition, not only embodying provisions contained in the old Transvaal arrangement, but going much farther, and extending to other Provinces of the Union a racial discrimination not hitherto known there. The Indian community, for a long period of years, has consistently fought against statutory discrimination based upon racial distinction. Segregation in travelling would only be tolerable if designed by statute, where exactly equal opportunities and facilities were provided for the different races affected. This is impossible for financial reasons and no such remedy is available. Apart from this, the situation in the Transvaal and in South Africa generally is very different from what it was in 1910, and less than ever are Indians disposed to depart from the principle of equality under the law, which they regard as fundamental in the British Constitution, and for which they have suffered enormously in the past, and are prepared to suffer for again. Not only ought the position of Indians elsewhere in the union not be reduced to the level of that in the Transvaal, but the latter should be raised to the highest level anywhere in the Union.

The settlement of these and other outstanding difficulties should receive the earnest attention of the Provincial Governments and the Union Government. It should not be forgotten that the bulk of the Indian settlement in South Africa is the result of the action of the South Africans themselves, and Natal, where the majority are domiciled, owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. "The whole of Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population," said Sir Leige Hewlett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal in 1903. In his farewell speech at Pretoria in November 1912, Mr. Ghokhale appealed to the European community in the

following words : " You have all the power, and yours, therefore, is the responsibility for the manner in which the affairs of this land are administered. You owe it to your good name, you owe it to your civilisation, you owe it to the Empire of which you are a part and whose flag stands for opportunities, for progress, for all who live under its protection, that your administration should be such that you can justify it in the eyes of the civilised world." This noble exhortation points to an angle of vision which is much nearer reality to-day than it was in Mr. Gokhale's time, and after the promise of " peaceful and statesmanlike " solution made by General Smuts last year there should really be no difficulty now. In order to enable the Union Government to deal with Indian problems impartially and promptly, the provision of convenient agency by which Indian grievances can be brought to the notice of the Local Government authorities would be a first step. The appointment of a local agent of the Indian Government at Pretoria should be an advantage both to the Indians in South Africa and the South African Government which has to deal with them.

5. For the group of questions relating to facilities for travel, education, or business, it is clear that it should be easy to arrive at a liberal and satisfactory solution almost immediately.

The present position is that the Dominion laws allow persons with good credentials to enter on temporary visits, in Canada as " tourists ", and elsewhere by special permits, which presumably are granted in the Dominion concerned. For instance, Australian Circular No. 31 of August 1904 lays down " that any persons, *bona fide* merchants, students, and tourist travellers, provided they are in possession of passports, may be admitted. On arrival in the Commonwealth the education test in their cases will not be imposed, and such persons are to be permitted to land without restriction, but, in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a certificate of exemption should be made before the expiry of the term stating reasons for extended stay."

In the case of *bona fide* students intending to study at any of the Australian Universities, the above requirement of special certificate of exemption appears to be quite unnecessary. The question of the Indian student problem in Australasia has assumed special importance, because at the present moment most of the Western world is practically almost shut out from Indian students, and will be for some time after the War, on account of the great rise in the cost of living and other causes. Australian Universities

are out of the War zone and comparatively cheap, and the Indian student is poor, and the West Australian University is only about nine-and-a-half days from Colombo.

6. Finally, as regards the question of future emigration of Indians to the Colonies for purposes of settlement, there is no change from the position which was taken up last year, that in this matter the Indian British subjects have a right to expect that they should not receive a less favourable treatment than other Asiatic people who are not subjects of the British Empire. But this question is not of any immediate urgency for India, and might well wait future discussion.

On our side we are being pressed to give practical effects to the resolution of last year's Conference.

7. It is only necessary in conclusion, to emphasise the necessity of definite action and a forward advance in these matters without any more delay. "I do not lose a due sense of proportion", says the Aga Khan in his recent book, "*India in Transition*," "when I say that one of the deeper causes, if not of discontent or disaffection, at any rate of the distrust of England and Englishmen that appeared on the surface in India of recent years, was the strained relationship between Indians and their white fellow-subjects in East Africa. A rankling sense of injustice was aroused by the reservation of the best lands for Europeans, and by a succession of ordinances and regulations based on an assumption of race inferiority. It must be remembered that such a state of injured feeling evokes a sub-conscious spirit, which in a few decades, may lead to results out of all proportion in importance to the "original causes." If the Indian representatives did not press this aspect of the question last year it is not because they did not realise their force or importance, but because they felt that the sympathetic attitude of the oversea Ministers made it unnecessary for any special emphasis to be laid on the racial aspect of these questions. A most excellent start was made last year and the impression created in India was most favourable. It would be a thousand pities if steps were not now taken to give effect and tangible shape to the good understanding and mutual comprehension attained last year. It is also obvious that these important questions should be settled not in any petty huckstering spirit of reciprocity only, far less of militant animosity and retaliation, but on those broad principles of justice and equality which are now more than ever the guiding principles of the British Empire, and which must be the foundations of the mighty Empire round the shores of

the Pacific and the Indian Oceans which are slowly but surely rising before one's eyes.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

Annex. 2 :—Extract from Proceedings of the Imperial War Conference, 24th July, 1918.

Chairman :—Mr. Hughes cannot come this morning, and Sir Robert Borden is away. The first subject on the agenda is Reciprocity of Treatment between India and the Dominions, on which there is a Memorandum by Sir Satyendra Sinha, which has been circulated, and also a draft Resolution, which I understand is the result of a meeting at the India Office. Shall I read the draft Resolution as the basis of discussion ?

Sir S. P. Sinha :—As you please, Sir.

Chairman :—The Resolution is as follows :—

"The Imperial War Conference is of opinion that effect should now be given to the principle of reciprocity approved by Resolution 22 of the Imperial War Conference, 1917. In pursuance of that Resolution it is agreed that :—

"1. It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities.

"2. British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into other British country for visits, for the purpose of pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity, as follows :—

"(a) The right of the Government of India is recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country.

"(b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in a passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *visa* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited, if such country so desires.

"(c) Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement.

"3. Indians already permanently domiciled in the other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful child of such Indian.

"4. The Conference recommends the other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India, so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs of this Resolution, to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration."

Sir S. P. Sinha :—Mr. Long, I am desired by my colleague, the Maharajah of Patiala, who is unfortunately prevented from being present to-day, to express his entire concurrence in what I am going to say to the Conference. I also regret exceedingly the absence of Sir Robert Bordon, because I wanted to express in his presence my deep feeling of gratitude for the generous and sympathetic spirit in which he has treated the whole question, both last year and this year. I desire to express my gratitude to him for the very great assistance he has rendered, to which I think the satisfactory solution which has been reached is very largely due—that is, if the Conference accepts the Resolution which I have the honour to propose.

Sir, the position of Indian immigrants in the Colonies has been the cause of great difficulties both in the Dominions themselves and particularly in my own country, India. As long ago as 1897, the late Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in addressing the Conference of Colonial Premiers, made a stirring appeal on behalf of the Indians who had emigrated to the Dominions. The same appeal was made in 1907 by Mr. Asquith, and in 1911. During all this time India was not represented at the Conference and it is only due to the India Office here to say that they did all they could to assist us. In 1911, the Marquiss of Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, presented a Memorandum to the Conference, which is printed in the proceedings for that year, and I cannot do better than just read one of the passages from that Memorandum :—

"It does not appear to have been thoroughly considered that each Dominion owes responsibility to the rest of the Empire for ensuring that its domestic policy shall not unnecessarily create embarrassment in the administration of India.

" It is difficult for statesmen who have seen Indians represented only by manual labourers and petty traders to realise the importance to the Empire as a whole of a country with some three hundred million inhabitants, possessing ancient civilisations of a very high order, which has furnished and furnishes some of the finest military material in the world to the Imperial forces, and which offers the fullest opportunities to financial and commercial enterprise. It is difficult to convey to those who do not know India the intense and natural resentment felt by veterans of the Indian Army, who have seen active service and won medals under the British flag; and who have been treated by their British Officers with the consideration and courtesy to which their character entitles them, when (as has actually happened) they find themselves described as 'coolies' and treated with contemptuous severity in parts of the British Empire. Matters like this are of course, very largely beyond the power of any Government to control, but popular misunderstandings are such a fruitful source of mischief that it seems worth while to put on record the grave fact that a radically false conception of the real position of India is undoubtedly rife in many parts of the Empire.

" The immigration difficulty, however, has, on the whole, been met by a series of statutes which succeeded in preventing Asiatic influx without the use of differential or insulting language. It is accepted that the Dominions shall not admit as permanent residents people whose mode of life is inconsistent with their own political and social ideals.

" But the admission of temporary visitors, to which this objection does not apply, has not yet been satisfactorily settled. If the questions were not so grave, it would seem to be ludicrous that regulations framed with an eye to coolies should affect Ruling Princes who are in subordinate alliance with His Majesty and have placed their troops at his disposal, members of the Privy Council of the Empire, or gentlemen who have the honour to be His Majesty's own Aides de Camp. It is, of course, true that no person of such distinguished position would, in fact, be turned back if he visited one of the Dominions. But these Indian gentlemen are known to entertain very strongly the feeling that, while they can move freely in the best society of any European capital, they could not set foot in some of the Dominions without undergoing vexatious catechisms from petty officials. At the same time, the highest posts in the Imperial service in India are open to subjects of His Majesty from the Dominions.

"The efforts of the British Government to create and foster a sense of citizenship in India have, within the last few years, undoubtedly been hampered by the feeling of soreness caused by the general attitude of the Dominions towards the peoples of India. The loyalty of the great mass of Indians to the Throne is a very conspicuous fact, and it is noteworthy that this feeling is sincerely entertained by many Indian critics of the details of British administration. The recent constitutional changes have given the people of the country increased association with the Government, and have at the same time afforded Indians greater opportunities of bringing to the direct notice of Government their views on the wider question of the place of India in the Empire. The gravity of the friction between Indians and the Dominions lies in this, that on the Colonial question, and on that alone, are united the seditious agitators, and the absolutely loyal representatives of moderate Indian opinions."

This, Sir, was in 1911, three years before the War; and if the position was correctly described then, you will conceive with how much greater strength the same observations apply to the present position as between India and the Dominions. Of course, since 1911, so far as South-Africa is concerned, many practical grievances which then existed have, I gratefully acknowledge, been removed, but there are still many others outstanding. Those are referred to in the memorandum which has been circulated to the Conference, and I trust my friends Mr. Burton and General Smuts, to whose statesmanship South-Africa, including all its inhabitants, owes so much, will be able, on their return to their own country in process of time to remove all, or at any rate some, of the grievances to which I refer. I recognise that it is a matter of time. I recognise their desire to remove those grievances, and I appreciate the difficulties of getting any legislation through their own Parliaments for that purpose; but at the same time I hope the matter will not be lost sight of, and that an early consideration will be given to matters which have not been the subject of agreement between us on this occasion.

But, Sir, so far as the outstanding difficulty of India is concerned, I am happy to think that the Resolution which I now propose before the Conference, if accepted, will get rid of that which has caused the greatest amount of trouble both in Canada and in India. There are now about 4,000 or 5,000 I think nearer 4,000 than 5,000—Indians in the Dominion of Canada, mostly in British Columbia, I think, in fact, all in British Columbia; and the great difficulty of their position—a difficulty which is appreciated in India—is that these men are not allowed to take their wives and

children with them. Now the Resolution, in paragraph 3, removed this difficulty—that is to say, if it is accepted and given effect to—and I consider that that will cause the greatest satisfaction to my countrymen, and particularly to that great community of Sikhs who have furnished the largest number of soldiers during the war, and to whom these 4,000 men in Canada belong.

The principle of reciprocity which was accepted by the Conference on the last occasion is again referred to with approval, and effect is to be given to it immediately as regards some of the most urgent matters concerned.

I have read from Lord Crew's Memorandum, Sir, the ludicrous position which now exists with regard to Indians of position visiting the Dominions. That position will be altogether altered if the Conference accepts the second part of the Resolution which I propose—namely, that "British citizens domiciled in any British country admitted into any other British country, including India, should be country for visits," and that the system of passports now in existence be continued, which would prevent any influx of undesirable labour population.

I think that, as the whole matter has been before the Conference so long, it would not be right for me to take up the time of the Conference further. I venture to think that if this Resolution is accepted, it will solve many of the most acute difficulties which have arisen between the Dominions and India and, speaking for India, I can assure you that it will cause the greatest satisfaction, and will help us to allay the agitation which, particularly at a time like this, is a source of grave embarrassment. That is all I have to say, Sir.

Mr. Rowell : There are just one or two observations I should like to make, Mr. Chairman. May I say how sincerely Sir Robert Borden regrets that he could not be here this morning for this question. He has personally taken a very keen interest in the question, and I am sure he will appreciate the very kind references which the representatives of India have made to his endeavour to find a solution of the difficulties which have existed for many years between India and the Dominions in connection with this very important problem.

The Resolution as submitted is accepted by Canada. We have had several conferences, and the terms of the Resolution represent an understanding arrived at by India and the Dominions. We look upon it as a matter of importance that the principle implied in the first paragraph of the Resolution should be frankly recognised by all the communities within the British Commonwealth. We recognise that there are distinctions in racial characteristics, and in other

matters, which make it necessary that, while we fully recognise the principle of reciprocity, each should exercise full control over its own population. The other paragraphs of the Resolution give effect to the proposals which have been discussed before the Committee set up by the Conference for the purpose, and give effect in such a way as I am sure we all hope will meet the general approval of the citizens of the Dominions and of India, as well as of the other portions of the Empire. We are glad to be able to remove the grounds of objection which India has felt, particularly with reference to the liberty of the Indian residents in Canada to bring their wives and minor children to Canada; but it was felt that this matter could not be dealt with except as part of the whole problem, and it is in connection with the solution of the whole problem that this forms an important part.

I think the number of Sikhs in Canada is not quite so large as Sir Satyendra has mentioned. While there was this number at one time, I think a number have returned to India, and the number is not now large. I am sure we all appreciate the splendid qualities which the Sikhs have shown in the War, and the magnificent contribution which that portion of India particularly has given to the fighting forces of the Empire, and I am sure it would have been a matter of gratification to us all if Sir Robert Borden could have been here when this important matter was being dealt with by the Conference. I am also confident that the effect of this resolution will be to draw together the Dominions and India into closer bonds of sympathy and to cement the bonds that bind our whole Empire together as a unit for great national purposes—for those great, humane, and Imperial purposes for which our Empire exists.

Chairman : Mr. Cook, do you desire to say anything on this?

Mr. Cook : No, I think not, Sir.

Mr. Massey : I am very glad that this solution of the difficulty has been arrived at. So far as New Zealand is concerned there is no serious difficulty. We have very, very few Indians in New Zealand, and so far as I know, the people of India have never shown any tendency to emigrate to New Zealand. I simply state the fact—I am not able to explain the reason. The objections, I understand, have come mostly from Canada and South Africa, and I am very glad indeed, from what has been said, to learn that those objections have been removed. Of course, we shall have the administration of the law in so far as it does apply to New Zealand, but I do not anticipate any difficulty there, and I think what has been done to-day not only removes the present difficulties, such as they are, but will prevent serious difficulty occurring in the future. I value the Resolu-

tion on that account really more than on any other. Though New Zealand, as I have said, is not seriously interested in this matter, I have no doubt if Indians had come to New Zealand in considerable numbers, objections would have been raised, and it would have been the duty of the Government to take the matter in hand. That, however, has not taken place.

I should like to learn from Sir Satyendra Sinha whether this will affect Fiji in any way. Fiji is a neighbour of ours, and most of our sugar is produced there. It is not refined there, but is sent to Auckland for refining purposes. I understand a very large number—I am not going into details, but I believe over 60,000 Indians are employed in Fiji at the present time in the production of sugar. I simply ask the question because the point is likely to be raised as to whether it will affect them.

Sir S P Sinha : In no way.

Mr. Massey : I am very glad to hear it. I hope as far as Fiji labour is concerned that even in Fiji some satisfactory solution of the difficulty will be arrived at in connection with that Dependency of the Empire. I know there is a little friction—not serious, but a little—but as far as I can understand the position—I do not profess to know the whole details—the difficulties are not insurmountable.

Sir S. P. Sinha : The difficulties are of a different nature. I hope they have been practically solved.

Mr. Massey : That is all I wish to say, Sir.

Mr. Burton : The matters which were raised by Sir Satyendra Sinha and the Maharaja in connection with this question present, I suppose, some of the most difficult and delicate problems which we have had to deal with, and which it is our duty as statesmen to attempt to solve satisfactorily if the British Empire is to remain a healthy organisation. I am sure we all feel, as far as we are concerned—I have told Sir Satyendra myself that my own attitude has been, and I am sure it is the attitude of my colleagues—sympathetic towards the Indian position generally. There are, of course, difficulties, and it would be idle to disguise the fact that many of these difficulties are of substantial importance, which have to be faced in dealing with this matter. But I do not despair of satisfactory solutions being arrived at.

Sir Satyendra Sinha has been good enough to refer to the attitude adopted by Canada and ourselves in discussing this matter in Committee, and I think it is only right from our point of view to add that the possibility of our arriving at a satisfactory solution on this occasion has been due very largely indeed to the reasonable and moderate attitude which the Indian representatives themselves

have adopted. But for that, of course, the difficulties would have been ever so much greater. As far as we are concerned, it is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see, as he himself expressed it, that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner.

As to the details, I need not go into all of them. Paragraph No. 3 embodies, as a matter of fact, the present law of the Union of South Africa. That is our position there, so that our agreement as to that is no concession. I pointed out to Sir Satyendra when we were in Committee, that in some of these points which he brought up as affecting South Africa, I thought in all probability, if he were in a position to investigate some of them himself, he would find that perhaps the complaints had been somewhat exaggerated. I cannot help feeling that that is the case, but I will not go into these matters now. As far as we are concerned in South Africa, we are in agreement with this Resolution, and also with the proposal referring the Memorandum to the consideration of our Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly.

Sir Joseph Ward: Mr. Long, this is a development in connexion with the Empire that I regard as one of the very greatest importance. At the last Conference we made a move in the direction of meeting the wishes of India, and this Resolution, now embodying the results arrived at by the Committee which has been enquiring into this matter, carries the matter, I think rightly so, a good deal further. I think it is a move in the right direction. The underlying recognition of the right of the overseas communities to control their own populations within or coming to their own territories is one as to which no recommendation from this Conference, if it were made in the opposite to their wishes, could have the least effect within any portion of the British Empire, and in that respect it is laying down a foundation upon which I regard the whole of these proposals as being based.

The important factor in connection with it is this. All our countries, at all events, New Zealand, have in the past, from causes or reasons one need not specially refer to, viewed with some concern the possibility of large numbers of Indians coming to them and becoming factors that would disturb, interfere with, or change the course of employment. I am of the opinion that the first proposal submitted is one that would be agreed to by every reasonable person in our country and would meet with their approval.

I take the opportunity of saying that sub-clause (c) of the second paragraph of this draft Resolution "Such right shall not extend to a visit or temporary residence for labour purposes or to permanent settlement"—completely meets the position that a good many peoples have had difficulties about, and I assume the Indian representatives are just as familiar with them as we are.

Upon the question of the introduction—although I have nothing to do with it as a representative here—of the wives of those men who have been admitted into Canada, that is, in my opinion, not only a wise thing to do, but on the highest grounds, possibly moral grounds—it seems to be a legitimate corollary to what the Canadian Dominion have done with regard to the 4,000 or 5,000 men who are there.

And I want to say with regard to the Memorandum which has been placed before us by the Indian representative on those several matters, that as far as I am concerned I have read the Memorandum very carefully this morning, and I shall be glad, at the proper time, to give the matters referred to the fullest consideration in our country.

Mr. Montagu : Mr. Long, may I just detain the Conference one minute to express, on behalf of the Government of India and my colleagues, our gratitude for the way in which this Resolution has been received at this meeting of the Conference. Sir Joseph Ward has rightly said that this Resolution has taken the question a good deal further. I emphasise that by way of caution, and I hope I shall not be charged with ingratitude when I say that it would not be fair to the Conference to regard that Resolution as a solution of all outstanding questions. Many of them can only be cured by time. Many of them, as Mr. Burton has said, require careful study. But I feel sure that the spirit in which the Resolution has been met, and the whole attitude which the representatives of the various Dominions have taken towards it, will prove to India that as matters progress, and as time advances, there is every prospect that Indians throughout the Empire will be treated not only as human beings, but will have all the rights and privileges of British citizens.

Mr. Cook :—Mr. Long, may I just say one word, lest my silence be misunderstood. As my friends know, I attended the Committee meeting yesterday, and concurred in these proposals, and the reason I do not occupy the time of the Conference is that there is nothing specifically relating to Australia in them. That is to say, many of the things referred to in this Memorandum are concessions which have already been agreed to in Australia very many years ago, even with regard to the bringing of the wives and minor children. Whatever the technical difficulties may be, I do not

think there is trouble occurring along those lines. At any rate, I am one of those who believe that when we admit a man to our shores we should admit his wife also and his family, and if we are not prepared to admit his wife and family, we have no right to admit him. It seems to me that is among the elementary things. I concur entirely with the proposal in that respect, but that being the only outstanding feature of the proposal which can in the remotest degree affect Australia, I will not take up time in discussing the matter, but agree cordially with what has been suggested and what has been done. I think we owe a great debt of gratitude to India for the attitude she has taken since this War began.

Chairman :—Perhaps I may be allowed to say a word in putting the Resolution. It will only be a very brief one. Last year the Conference was specially marked by the addition to our councils of the representatives of India, and I think we all feel that that made the Conference more complete and more real than it ever claimed to be before. This year sees another steady step forward and I am bound to say that I think, having followed these proceedings very closely—I had the privilege to be present at the meeting which the Prime Minister of Canada was good enough to summon last year, when Sir Satyendra put the general case before us, and I think you will agree that that was a very useful meeting and started us in the direction which has been consistently followed since—I think this steady advance is due, as has been said, not only to the wise, moderate, and extremely able line taken by Sir Satyendra and his colleagues—last year it was Sir James Meston and the Maharaja of Bikanir who represented India with him, while this year it is the Maharaja of Patiala—but also to the very statesmanlike view which has been taken of their responsibilities by those who speak on behalf of the great Self-governing Dominions of the Empire. And certainly I rejoice more than I can say to see this evidence of the steady progress of the Empire along those lines which have been always followed in the past, and which, I believe, have made the Empire what it is—the recognition of fundamental principles, and a steady refusal to deny to any citizen of the Empire the privileges of Empire simply because of the accident of birth or locality. I regard this as a very important decision. On behalf of the Conference, I may perhaps be allowed to offer my congratulations to those who represent India and the Dominions upon this very considerable step in the development of our Empire. May I put the Resolution?

(The Resolution was carried unanimously.)

Savoy Hotel.

Dinner to Lord Sinha—Mar. 12, 1919.

The **MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR** presided on March 12, 1919 at a complimentary dinner to Lord Sinha, Under-Secretary of state for India, at the Savoy Hotel.

Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, returned from Paris in order to attend ; and among those present were :—

H. H. The Aga Khan, Lord Carmichael, Messrs Fisher, Barnes, Lords Hardinge, Donoughmore, Elphinstone, Cromer, Islington, Leigh, Willingdon, Brassey, H. Cavendish Bentinck, the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj, Lords Sligo, Lamington, Gainford, Mr. Herbert Samuel Sir George Foster, Sir Arthur Lawley, Major Sir Philip Grey-Egerton, Sir Thomas Berridge, Sir W. R. Lawrence, Colonel Sir J. Dunlop Smith, Sir Abbas Ali Baig, Colonel Thakar Sadul Singh, Mr. B. N. Basu, Mr. T. Lall, Sir Charles Bailey and others.

Bikanir's Speech

The Maharaja of Bikanir proposing the health of Lord Sinha said : he had the greatest pleasure in associating himself whole-heartedly with Lord Sinha's other friends, whose name was legion, in offering the warmest congratulations upon the honour which the King-Emperor had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him. Another object of this function was to enable Indians to express their grateful appreciation of the true statesmanship and rare stroke of imagination which had prompted the Secretary of State to suggest and the Premier to accept Lord Sinha's appointment, which India welcomed as clearly emphasising the determination of His Majesty's Government to carry out without unnecessary delay a substantial measure of constitutional reform. The Maharaja of Bikanir paid a tribute to Lord Sinha's modesty and profound patrio-

tism combined with the utmost loyalty to the British Crown and his grateful appreciation of all that India's connection with British meant for India, also his high sense of public duty, his political insight and strength of character. He had never attempted to court cheap popularity by playing to the gallery. He had always unhesitatingly spoken and acted according to the dictates of his conscience in support of what appeared to him best for India and the British Empire. Law, order, and good government had been as dear to Lord Sinha as the continued political advancement of his countrymen. These characteristics had distinguished Lord Sinha throughout his career. His sterling worth had won for him both east and west of Suez the respect of Englishmen and Indians alike. His country was justly proud of this great Indian who had led the way in so many spheres with such conspicuous merit and success.

If there was one Indian, whose appointment as Under-Secretary was certain to evoke widespread approbation it was Lord Sinha. The cordial reception with which the innate sense of justice and fairplay characterising the British people had been extended to Lord Sinha's appointment virtually unanimously by the responsible press and informed public opinion in England, had been noted with lively gratification in India, but there had been a few insinuations and misrepresentations by those who posing as experts on India had been assiduously carrying on an anti-Reform and anti-Indian campaign.

He continued :—

It is an open secret—and I hear that that popular Governor, Lord Willingdon (cheers) told the story in a sympathetic speech at the dinner recently given in his honour—that for some years the highest authorities in India had been urging upon His Majesty's Government the pressing necessity for a declaration of British policy in relation to Indian aspirations. I think I can add without impropriety that it subsequently fell to the lot of those of us who had the honour of representing India here two years ago further to press this consideration. This view was accepted by that high-minded statesman, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. His successor, within a few weeks of receiving the seals of office, made the most welcome and historic announcement of the 30th August, 1917 (cheers), with the full authority of His Majesty's Government and the concurrence of the Government of India. Two months later, in the Upper House, Lord Curzon showed the necessity for this action in the following eloquent terms :

"You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at

work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean ; and believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount (Lord Midleton) had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its head to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet."

The Declaration and the official visit to India of Mr. Montagu at the express invitation of the Viceroy, were productive of immense good (cheers)—a view which is widely shared by both the Princes and people of India.

The Anti-Indian Agitation.

We knew some of our old Anglo Indian friends too well to expect them to be in real sympathy with such a declaration. And no reasonable person will for a moment cavil at honest differences of opinion. But what do we find ? On the 30th of October, 1917—several days before Mr. Montagu had reached India on the mission with which His Majesty's Government had specially entrusted him—the Indo-British Association held its inaugural meeting in London. The minutes of its proceedings were published under the surprising title of "The Interests of India." (Laughter.) Perhaps it was chosen because one of the professed objects of the Association is, we are told, "to promote and foster the unity and advancement of the Indian peoples." (Laughter.) The methods, arguments, and manifold activities of the Association have, however, singularly disguised this avowed aim, and all that we can say is—Save us from such friends. (Cheers.)

The Association does not expressly oppose the Declaration. But its real hostility to the policy of His Majesty's Government is revealed in almost every phase of its activity. From the first it has been developing a ceaseless pamphleteering and press propaganda. The booklets and leaflets it issues so freely are intended to alarm the ordinary man as to the condition of India, to belittle in every possible way the educated classes of that country (and indeed everyone who

has the temerity to disagree with its views), and to appeal to the personal and class interests at one time of the working man, at another—and more frequently—of business firms participating in Indian trade. Such firms were asked by circular, intended to be private, but which found a publicity unwelcome to the authors, for subscriptions to the Association of any sums from £1,000 downwards. The suggestion was made in this begging letter that such subscriptions could be regarded as “insurance premiums for British interests in India.” We believe in an industrial as well as a political future for our country, but we have yet to learn that the Indian Empire exists for exploitation by any particular commercial interests. As my right honourable friend, Mr. Chamberlain, publicly said when Secretary of State, India refuses to be regarded any longer in the economic sphere as a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. But industrial development means increased purchasing power, and British trade stands to gain and not to lose thereby.

Unjustifiable Attacks.

My Lords and Gentlemen, if I have not been greatly misinformed, I think that the word “reaction” has not been entirely unknown in connection with your domestic policy (Laughter) And one section of your extremists in this country—for India has no monopoly of of this class of people (laughter)—are sounding shrill notes of alarm about India. Without going back to earlier occasions, we recollect that similar cries were raised some twelve years ago, when the Morley-Minto Reforms were under consideration; but with this difference, that as there is now an Indo-British Association, the anti-reform agitation is more noisy and persistent. Uneasily conscious that they are fighting a bad case, the Association—and in my remarks to-night I include generally the writer and speakers who have been co-operating in the campaign—freely resort to wholesale vituperation and personal abuse. Indians—including the dangerous and scheming Bengali Peer on my right (laughter)—have been indiscriminately branded as agitators, and India represented as seething with sedition and crime.

The policies of four consecutive Secretaries of State—Lord Morley, Lord Crewe, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Mr. Montagu—and of three consecutive Viceroy—Lords Minto, Hardinge and Chelmsford (cheer)—have been criticised in the most unjust terms. In fact, the “noncontents” would have you believe that they are right and that the Prime Minister, His Majesty’s Government, the

Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the Government of India are all wrong. (Laughter.) We are even asked to believe that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are out to weaken British authority in India, and that they are courting a grave political disaster. The burden of their jeremiad comes to this : Carry the reforms through, aim at responsible government in India, and you strike a blow at the rule of the King-Emperor in India. But they have deliberately suppressed the fact that the Indian leaders fully recognize and have repeatedly stated that their ideal of self-government can only be realized by India remaining an integral part of the British Empire. This recognition is prompted not only by that deep and universal loyalty of the Indian people to their beloved Sovereign which their religion and traditions enjoin, but also by what has been termed "reasoned attachment."

The Rowlatt Report.

The mendacity and unfairness of such a campaign is nowhere more conspicuous—and that is saying a great deal—than in a pamphlet of the Association, under the title of "Danger in India : Sedition and Murder," an annotated eptiome of the findings of the Rowlatt Committee. You can imagine how eagerly anti-reform capital is made therein of these findings. Lamentable and serious as are the outrages dealt with in the Report, they relate to the nefarious activities of an infinitely small number out of a loyal Indian population of 315 millions, constituting one fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. (Cheers.)

It cannot too often be emphasized that India, especially in the last decade or so, has been progressing at such a rapid rate that the people who left the country even five years ago are not entitled to speak as experts. And it is all very well to refer to isolated incidents and opinions of individuals—usually anonymous—claiming to represent this or the other class in India. What India asks is that her affairs should be judged as a whole and by the public declarations of her responsible leaders.

The Ruling Princes.

Finally, I must deal with an issue on which I claim a first-hand knowledge, at least not inferior to that of the Indo-British Association or even of vehement leader-writers in organs echoing its views. (Cheers.) The impression has been very freely conveyed that the Princes of India are hostile not only to Lord Sinha's ap-

pointment but also to the reforms under contemplation. As one who has the honour to represent in England for the second time the Princes of India, I feel it my bounden duty to give to this gross misrepresentation the most authoritative and emphatic denial.

May I preface what I have to say with a word of explanation? As is well known the Indian Princes belong to no political parties whether here or in India. Their territories, representing an area of about one-third of the vast Indian Empire, are outside the limits of British India proper, and British jurisdiction is inapplicable therein. The interests of the Princes and their subjects—who constitute more than one-fifth of the entire Indian population—are thus already safeguarded in many ways by treaties of friendship and alliance concluded, almost invariably at least a century ago, and sometimes longer, between the Rulers and the East India Company. When the administration of British India was transferred to the Crown more than sixty years ago, these treaties were accepted as permanently binding both by Queen Victoria and the British Parliament. Such assurances have been graciously reiterated by each successive British Sovereign in regard to the pledges and rights secured by the Princes through such treaties.

It follows that in matters relating to administrative reform in British India, the Ruling Princes are in the direct sense disinterested parties, actuated by no selfish considerations or personal motives, and that they have no axe to grind. I hope that their loyal and deep devotion to the King-Emperor and their attachment to the Empire need no words from me. (Cheers) Their only concern is to see such measures adopted as will further popularize, strengthen, and preserve the ties that bind England and India together. They have amply demonstrated time and again that in any matter endangering the Empire they can always be relied upon unhesitatingly to fight for the British Throne, and to range themselves in a solid phalanx on the side of constituted authority. (Hear, hear.) Nothing is more true than what has been repeatedly stated by the high officers of the Crown and the Princes themselves that there is a very great and real identity of interests between the British Government and the Princes.

Is it conceivable, therefore, that the Princes would be in sympathy with, much less advocate, measures of a revolutionary nature, or prejudicial to the stability of the King-Emperor's rule in India.

Sympathy with the Political Advance.

Nearly two years ago, speaking publicly in London for the Princes, I stated that the Rulers of the Indian States, far from being alarmed at or resenting any political advance in British India, would rejoice at such progress. Nevertheless, persistent allegations to the contrary have continued to be made by Lord Sydenham and others. It has even been stated in a recent book, described in Mr. Garvin's paper, by one speaking with authoritative knowledge of India, as "a harmful and spiteful contribution to the study of Indian reform," that some of us (and the reference to myself is obvious) do not represent the views of our Brother Princes; whilst in another page it is definitely asserted that the Maharajah of Patialla and myself were merely re-echoing the "gentle words" of Lord Sinha! (Laughter).

I propose, therefore to show categorically and conclusively the enlightened and favourable views held by the Princes of India generally in this connection.

He then quoted several speeches of Princes to show that the Princes favoured Reforms, the proceedings of, and the sentiments expressed at, the last Delhi Conference of Ruling Princes were next referred to and he quoted the Maharaja of Scindia.

Turning Point.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we are now face to face with one of the most critical periods in the political regeneration of India under the aegis of the British Crown. The decisions regarding Indian constitutional reform, ultimately reached in this country, must irrevocably affect, for good or ill, India's future political progress. (Cheers). Thus a very grave responsibility lies on His Majesty's Government, and the British Parliament and people. It rests with them, by seizing the golden opportunity now offered of handling the Indian problem in a sympathetic and liberal spirit, with imagination, breadth of view and boldness, to bring about the greater happiness and the enhanced loyalty and contentment of the people of India. Thereby they will be doing a great service, not only to India, but also to the Empire as a whole, and will be acting in accord with the best traditions of Great Britain, the nursing mother of representative institutions and free nations. She has taught us to appreciate fully the rights and liberties of citizenship, which now more than at any previous time, have become the natural aim and desire of every civilized people all the world over. Not only will India be placed well on the road to the goal of responsible

government, as an integral part of the Empire, she will also be enabled to bear a still greater share in Imperial burdens and responsibilities. A great deal of what has come to be known as "legitimate unrests" will further subside, and the anxiety and uncertainty in men's minds will be replaced by an ever-increasing confidence in the fulfilment of Britain's glorious mission in India. Instead of being discredited and disheartened, the ranks of sobriety, moderation, and restraint will receive constant accessions of strength. A loyal, developing, and contented India will be an asset of immense value to the Empire. (Cheers).

A Note of Warning.

On the other hand, should reactionary tendencies prevail in wrecking or whittling down the reforms or leading to inadequate or half-hearted measures, inconsistent with the spirit and letter of the Declaration, a situation of extreme gravity will be created. Speaking under a strong sense of duty to the King-Emperor and the vast Empire under his sway, I wish to sound this solemn note of warning. Should the counsels of the opponents of genuine reform be followed, feelings of bitter disappointment and grievous wrong will be dominant throughout the length and breadth of India. (Loud cheers). The full force of that dissatisfaction no man can gauge; but it must be obvious that in comparison with it the unrest and discontent of recent years would seem small. Should such a situation ensue, it is a matter for earnest consideration, whether the Indian people would be held solely responsible at the bar of history for results which would be as deplorable as they would be unfair both for Great Britain and for India. Let me assure you as an Indian, that India's Princes and people ardently desire progress without disorder, reform without revolution. (Cheers).

We are persuaded to expect better things than that the British Government and Parliament should accept the guidance of reactionaries whose activities and constant libels on the Indian peoples are responsible in no small degree for the unrest, constitute a barrier to better feelings and closer understanding between Indians and Englishmen, and have so baneful an influence upon impressionable youths. Let us not forget Edmund Burke's striking axiom that "a great empire and little minds go ill together." As Lord Carmichael, another popular Governor, pointed out in the House of Lords last August, we cannot stand still; we must either go back or go forward. To go back, he said, is a policy the people of the Empire

will not tolerate. Liberal ty, sympathy, and bold statesmanship have invariably answered well and advanced the greatness of the Empire in the past—notably in the case of the South African Union—and they will certainly not be misplaced in the India of to-day. (Cheers). Some two and a half years before the outbreak of war, His gracious Majesty said in his ever-memorable speech at Calcutta :

“Six years ago I sent from England to India a message of sympathy : to-day, in India I give to India the watchword of hope. On every side I trace the signs and stirrings of new life.”

India has amply proved her right to share in the fairer and better world which we have all been promised on every hand, at the victorious termination of the mighty struggle. If the British Government will but seize occasion by the hand to shape the promised reforms on bold and generous lines at the earliest possible opportunity, they will confirm the solidarity of the widely varied dominions of His Imperial King Majesty George V by strengthening the most enduring ties between England and India—those of mutual trust and helpfulness. (Loud applause.)

My Lords and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of Lord Sinha.

Lord Sinha.

The Right Hon. Lord Sinha, who was received with great enthusiasm, said :—

Your Highness, my Lords and Gentlemen—I can hardly express my sense of gratefulness to your Highness for the very kind, much too kind, and cordial terms in which you have proposed the toast of my health, and to you, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your very generous response. I should be more than human, less than human if I may say so, if I failed to be touched to the innermost recesses of my heart by this warm expression of your goodwill towards me, and I say without exaggeration that it will leave an abiding impression on my mind. But I am sure you will not think me vain enough to take this generous appreciation on your part of the position to which I have been called by the King-Emperor as in any sense personal to myself. My appointment as Under-Secretary of State for India is a striking illustration of the principle which Great Britain has adopted in the government of our commonwealth as applied to India. We, the loyal Indian subjects of His Majesty, have been holding fast for now more than sixty years to the gracious proclamation of Queen Victoria, emphasizing the abolition of all distinctions of race and

religion in the administration of India as the great Charter of our rights ; but slowly, steadily, almost imperceptibly, the march of events has taken us far beyond the position which that great proclamation gave us. India has been given a recognized and honoured place in the central councils of the Empire in war and peace, her Princes and her people have been treated as the equal custodians of our joint heritage, and Indian aspirations are measured today not in terms of our country, great as she is, but in terms of a greater fatherland of which India forms an integral part. (Cheers.) Indian representatives have participated on equal terms with the rest of the Empire in the anxious deliberations of war and peace ; and though I frankly confess (not in any spirit of assumed humility, but in all seriousness) that I am all too unworthy of the great honour done to me, England has shown to the world that in her Imperial family she recognizes the claims of all its members and disregards the prejudices which have prevailed for centuries.

Equal Citizenship.

I have no doubt that you are here tonight, not so much to do honour to me as to put the seal of your approbation to this policy, to let all whom it may concern know that England is not going to retrace her steps because the danger with which she was threatened is over, but that she holds fast to that great principle of freedom and equality in vindication of which she staked her very existence. (Loud cheers). It is that aspect of my appointment which has given such universal gratification to my countrymen. I have had the honour of receiving congratulatory telegrams which have come pouring in from all parts of India, and indeed from all parts of the world wherever there are Indians, from our great ruling Princes, from heads of ancient religious foundations, from our territorial aristocracy, from the leaders of Indian thought of all shades of opinion, and resolutions of approval and gratitude have been passed by different provincial councils, municipal corporations, district boards, public associations, and at public meetings in towns and villages. What can be the meaning and the significance of this universal acclamation from India ? It is not because of me, for I only occupy the position of an illustration of a great principle ; it is because the great principle to which I have referred has been so strikingly upheld and vindicated, and more especially because such vindication has largely dispelled, as I firmly believe, the doubts and misgivings which were everywhere arising in India owing to india-

criminate and ill-informed attacks against the educated classes of India, not merely by irresponsible critics in the Press, but even by some who have held high and responsible office in India.

Loyalty of the Educated Classes.

And, sir, I should like to take this opportunity to enter a solemn protest, not so much against scornful sneers or offensive epithets, for these may be left to be their own answer, but against the idea that appears still to prevail in certain quarters that the educated classes of India are unfriendly to British. If by British rule is meant autocracy and domination in the name and under the garb of efficiency, we are opposed to it. (Loud applause.) We should not be worthy of our long connection with Great Britain and of our education if we were not. It is this critical attitude of mind which has in the past brought down upon our devoted heads invectives of reactionary politicians and officials.

I do not deny that there have been occasional aberrations on the part of a very small number, but I venture to think that, when not due to enemy intrigues, these have been almost solely due to the doubts and misgivings I have already referred to—often unreasonable, often unfounded, but still there. I can only express a hope that in the future no act or speech of responsible journalists and statesmen will foment or add to these suspicions. (cheers)

Sir, I venture to assert that the educated classes, without exception, ardently desire to remain within the fold of the British Empire with the status of equal British citizens. They desire equality within the Empire and not severance therefrom. (cheers.) How otherwise is it possible to understand the thrill of pleasure which was felt by all India when Lord Morley referred to me as "one of the King's equal subjects"? How otherwise can we explain the wave of enthusiasm that has passed over India with regard to my recent preferment?

British Congratulations.

Sir, I must also take this opportunity to say what a source of peculiar pride and pleasure it is to me that hosts of my Anglo-Indian and British friends, officials as well as non-officials, have sent me their congratulations in terms no less appreciative, so far as I am personally concerned, and what is more precious to me—recognizing equally with my own countrymen the political

value of the unprecedented step that has been so boldly taken by those who are responsible for the future destiny of this far-flung Empire. To all and each of these friends of mine, I have tried to reply either by cable or by letter, but I take this opportunity of thanking them again, singly and collectively.

The Press, too, both in this country and in India have accorded almost without exception their sanction and approval to my appointment and elevation, and I should like to express grateful thanks, both for myself and my country, for their generous attitude. I hope I may be pardoned for referring to another personal aspect of the matter. I know that there are many countrymen of mine far more deserving than myself of the honours which have been bestowed upon me ("No, no") I can honestly say, I wish that these honours had gone to one of them. But uppermost in my mind to-day, and indeed ever since, the thought that there was one man who would and could have done far the greatest service to India if my position to-day were his—Gopal Krishna Gokhale (loud applause)—whom India shall ever mourn as one of her most patriotic sons and whose untimely death was one of the greatest of our misfortunes. Nor can I help giving expression to a poignant sense of regret that the true friend of Indian aspirations, than whom no man worked more hard or more unselfishly for our advancement—Sir William Wedderburn (cheers)—should not have lived to see what I am sure he would have hailed as a token of the new spirit which to-day animates Great Britain in her relations with India. A high British official and friend of mine has written to me that India has taken my appointment as "clearly showing that His Majesty Government mean business when they declare that it is their intention to raise India to the position of an equal partner in the Empire." (Cheers).

The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

I have no doubt they mean business, and I am confident that a liberal and a generous scheme of reforms will be passed by the Parliament of this country—and that the pre-occupations of the coming peace and the necessity for full consideration of the Reports of the different Committees will not cause any great delay. I am confident that a reform scheme will be in operation within the next twelve months. (cheers.)

There is at present, at any rate, one well considered scheme before the public—the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. I agree

with so much of what is said in a leading article of yesterday's *Times* that I make no apology for quoting one sentence from it :

"The great need of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme at this juncture is neither laudation nor abuse, of both by which it has had far too much, but constructive criticism of which there has been far too little."

Large parts of that scheme were accepted by all shades of opinion : namely, firstly closer connection between Indian States and British India ; secondly, necessity for as complete decentralisation as possible between the Secretary of State, the Government of India and Provincial Governments ; thirdly, the necessity for complete freedom in local self-Government ; fourthly much larger inclusion of Indians in the superior services, civil and military, fifthly, full industrial development ; sixthly broadening of the franchise of Legislative Councils ; and seventhly transfer of so much control as was consistent with the interests of law and order from the bureaucracy to representatives of the people. Controversy centred principally round the extent of such control and the method of transfer. He trusted that when there was so much agreement a satisfactory solution would be found. Lord Sinha concluded by appealing to Indians not to lose trust in England which had given conspicuous proof that she deserved all their trust in the responsible duties with which she was entrusted (cheers.)

Mr. Montagu.

After this substantial feast, gastronomic and intellectual I am reluctant to detain you many minutes. But I do want to take this opportunity for a little plain speaking (A Voice : That's what we want). The politician who regards it the prime function and duty of his life to promote the welfare and advancement of the Indian Empire, labours under the disadvantage of the rareness of occasions on which he can speak to audiences in England of the situation in the Indian Empire. If, therefore, I abuse your hospitality, to-night, it is because I have got the chance of saying just one or two things that are uppermost in my mind.

It is now a little more than eighteen months since I accepted the responsible and high office I now hold, and my experience in that time gathered in India, in England and in Paris, has amplified and magnified the conviction with which I became Secretary of State, that the reform of the Government machine in India is vital

and urgent and ought not to be delayed (loud cheers). The whole spirit of our deliberations across the Channel today is that an Empire can alone be justified by the freedom and liberty which it guarantees, and the motive of the world's statesmanship at this moment is a hatred and detestation of ascendancy and dominion (loud cheers). Therefore I say, my Lords and gentlemen, that those who would stand in the way of Indian reform in this direction are not only in my opinion enemies of the British Empire, but are setting themselves athwart of world wide influence (cheers).

I am part author of a scheme of Indian reforms published for criticism. Never has anything been asked for to which a more generous response has been given (laughter). In pamphlets and and in books, in streams and in deluge, criticism has poured forth, much of it helpful and constructive but also much of it prejudiced and ill-willed. His Highness the Maharajah and Lord Sinha have said something about the effect of such strictures upon youth. As I listened to their speeches I felt that they conveyed a lesson for those who write about India of the harm that can be done by ill-considered words, and the mischief that can be wrought by forgetting the sensitiveness of people who are striving for progress. For the British politician abuse and criticism, however ill founded and imaginative, are the bread and butter upon which he lives (laughter.) Sometimes it is a matter of astonishment to those who do not live in England that we hardly take the trouble to answer those who make abuse their stock in trade. People who write and speak on India, however, often forget that their words are far more than for domestic consumption.

The True Decentralisation.

The one thing proposed by the Viceroy and myself which seems to meet with universal satisfaction is the great project of decentralisation (cheers). In a speech I once made and which I have not since been allowed to forget, and before I was appointed to my present office, I dragged into a discussion in the House of Commons on Mesopotamia, by the kindness and toleration of the speaker, a picture of an India for which we should strive, consisting of a group of self-governing provinces or dominions, masters in their own houses, joined together for the common purpose of the country as a whole by the Government of India, and joined by a never-ending bond to the Empire which made them and gave them their liberty. (Cheers). Now nothing on the adminis-

trative side seems to me so obvious in the present administration than the irritation which is felt by those who constitute the Government of India with the horrible institution called the India Office (laughter). It is only equalled by the irritation that is felt by those who constitute the Provincial Governments with the horrible institution which is known as the Government of India (laughter). My Lords and gentlemen, this phenomenon, which is so shocking when you meet it in a partnership arrangement, seems to me inevitable when one authority sits on the head of another. I well remember looking at an excellent picture in *Punch*, drawn I think by Du Maurier, of the inside of an episcopal palace, when a letter was opened from a rector asking permission to do something or other in his parish. The bishop was warming himself in front of the fire, his wife was knitting in the armchair, and their small son in sailor suit was laboriously writing a letter: "Dear Mr. So and So, Dady says you mustn't." (laughter). That is the irritating part. Some inscrutable decree is passed many hundreds of miles away from Delhi or London, often unintelligible to those who receive it, preventing the man on the spot from doing what he wants. Harmony cannot be obtained, a quick solution of present difficulties cannot be achieved unless the Government of India is allowed to run its own affairs, and the Governments of the provinces are similarly given a free hand. (Applause.)

Yes, but where does that take us? There can be only one substitute for authority from above. There can be only one substitute for the ultimate control of the British Parliament—and that is the control of the people of India (loud and long continued cheering.) If I stopped at decentralisation I should have the unanimous support of the Indo-British Association (laughter). The Governor would no longer be hampered by tedious and irritating despatches from London; he would be ruler of his own country without the necessity of bothering about the opinions of his Legislative Council. The purpose of the Viceroy and myself, however, is by no means to increase the bureaucratic character of governments in the Province. Decentralisation can only be effective and autonomy can only be brought about by the substitution of responsible government for government by the India Office. (Cheers.)

Government by Vote.

But where does this lead us? It means that the substitute of government by despatch is government by vote. It has often been said that the reforms we propose have the unfortunate feature

that India is unfit to govern itself. To-night I am surrounded by Indians who hold, or have held, high places. We are convinced of the fitness of many. What we want to see is how India learns to use the vote on which the whole machinery will depend. (cheers.) Can Indians grudge a few years in which to see how the franchise works? How many people vote in India to-day? Only a few handfuls. The work of Lord Southborough's committee will enfranchise millions of Indians. Will they vote? Will they know what a vote means and what can be achieved by it? Will the constituencies which the Committee will devise be representative of the Indian Empire? If the British Parliament is the custodian of the growth of self-government in India we must have a few years in which to study the stages of that growth; and Indians have no right to tell us that in providing for this we are acting too cautiously or with too much hesitation.

Communal Electorates.

The first thing to do is to devise a representative electorate. That brings me to the subject of communal representation. I repeat that to my mind this is an unfortunate expedient fraught with many risks. (Hear, hear). However, everything else, theoretical and practical, must be sacrificed to obtaining representative legislative councils. If communal electorates are the only means to this end,—provided that they are designed to give the representation demanded by the necessity of the case—well then, there must be communal representation. (Hear, hear). But if such electorates are advocated simply, as I fear they are sometimes advocated, because there are still in the world believers in the old theory that if you split a country up you can govern it more easily, then communal representation is to be rejected. (Cheers).

I hasten to add that I make an exception for the Mahomedans, to whom we are bound by pledges as solemn as any Government ever gave to any people. To those pledges I am convinced that we shall remain faithful (cheers) until the day comes when the mahomedans themselves tell us that there is no necessity for separate electorates.

May I say one more thing, prompted by the remarks of His Highness, the Aga Khan? I for one do not believe that there is any essential antagonism between the interests of one section of the Indian people and any other. (Loud cheers). If in the Peace Conference it is unfortunate that India is presented by three men

none of whom is a Mahomedan, I can assure the Mahomedans of India that their peculiar interests and aspirations are as zealously voiced and as sympathetically considered by my two colleagues and myself as the opinions, desires and wishes of any other section of the Indian people. (Hear, hear.)

The Services and reform.

I want to say one word about the Indian Civil Service. There is no doubt in the minds of all thinking men that any unprejudiced and well-informed observer of Indian history and conditions will agree that services rendered to the country by the Indian Civil Service will stand for ever conspicuous as the greatest work ever accomplished in the history of the world by the men of one country for the people of another. But it is sometimes said that the reforms proposed will be to alter and prejudice the position of the Indian Services. Yes, it will alter the position. This is a time for plain speaking. The announcement of 20th August, 1917 promised the transfer of responsibility. From whom, to whom? To the people of India from the Civil Service of India. (Cheers). If we said to the Civil Service to-day that their political position will be the same in the future as it has been in the past, the announcement of H. M's Government becomes meaningless. (Hear, hear). For the past ten years I have been in close association with the Home Civil Service. Is their position unendurable? Is there any doubt about the great imperial services they render because they are subordinate to the policy laid down by Parliament? There is, believe me, for the Indian Civil Service an indispensable and honourable part in the future of India. The pronouncement of eighteen months ago meant nothing unless it meant that the political destinies of India are to be gradually reposed in the people of India, and gradually taken from those who have gloriously built up India as we know it to-day (loud cheers.) Although any talk of reform in his country brings out of retirement those who walk dangerously, as it seems to me, with their heads over their shoulders, gazing admiringly on the past, I do not believe that there is any Civil Servant in India who thinks (though it is sometimes claimed on their behalf) that the appointed destiny of the country can be delayed or altered in the interests of the Service (loud cheers.)

Work of the Transitional Stages.

I turn from the position of the Civil Service to that of Indian workers. It is for Parliament to decide what the Act will be. What I do know is that the reforms that are wanted for India to-day are not concessions flung to the hungry politician, but the opening of

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the clearly marked road which will lead the people surely to their appointed destiny (loud cheers.) Nothing matters to me—the irritation, the peculiar anomalies, the novelties, the friction which are prophesied—so much as to be sure of seeing before us the road we are going to take (cheers.) Supposing, as I claim for the Reform Scheme which the Viceroy and I have published for criticism, that the future stages of progress depend not upon agitation but on the principles that constitute the essential ingredients of future stages, what have Indians to do? I tell you that there is only one way of ensuring rapid progress along that road, and that way does not lie in making political speeches abusing a race or class, or abusing your partners in the great experiment. Is there nothing definite that Indians can do during the transitional stages? No tongue can exaggerate the benefits of British rule in India. But education is still confined to a very small minority. Industrial development is in its infancy. Does anybody in this audience realise that last year in the great influenza epidemic no less than six million people died in India? In the State ruled by our Chairman, I believe that one out of seven died. The horrors of war are nothing to the influenza epidemic which has visited the whole earth. But has not the exceptional mortality in India something to do with poverty and the consequent lack of resisting power (cheer)? I say, supposing the questions of public health, education and industrial development were in the power of Indians to work for themselves, would these be dishonourable tasks? Would they not be the tasks for laying the foundation of a great Empire in the future?

When I was very young I was a great admirer of the game of cricket. One thing that impressed upon my youthful observation was always this, that each member of the team was left to discharge the function for which he was responsible. If the whole team ran after a particular ball it fell through their fingers. Nothing was worse for the side at the wickets than to spend its time in the pavilion criticising the batsmen. Let us see that in the new India the functions of each man and of each partner in the combination are defined, and let them each fulfil their appointed tasks without trying to interfere with the functions of others.

British and Indian co-operation.

The basis of this dinner is the honours we desire to do to our guest, Lord Sinha. He and I are called upon to work together as colleagues in the India Office. It was a proud moment of my life when I learned that the recommendation of Lord Sinha as my comrade had been accepted by His Majesty, though at the time I felt a sorrow which you will all understand at the loss of Lord

Islington (cheers) to whom I owe very much for his friendship and assistance, and to whom India owes very much (cheers). Lord Sinha's associations with me has only been a short one ; but we purpose of benefiting the Indian Empire. It seems to me that if you forget personalities and just think of an Englishman and an Indian thus working together in the control of Indian administration, you will have an excellent example of the co-operation and unison between the two races which has been, and believe me, will continue to be, a creative force of all the best work to be done for India. I do not believe that, as has been said, the experiment upon which Government has embarked is a leap in the dark. I believe that the growth of Parliamentary and self-governing institution is an inevitable consequence and a result of British rule. Whether I consider the aspirations of India, or the interests of the British Empire, or the work which has been done by my fellow countrymen in India, I feel confident that the result of their labour in association with Indians, the only vision that they ought to desire to see achieved is a peaceful and prosperous India in which Indians will walk the highways of their own country conscious that they are to be the controllers of its destinies (Loud and long continued cheers).

Lord Carmichael briefly proposed the health of the Chairman in a humorous speech, and His Highness expressed his acknowledgments.

India in the Peace Conference.

Paris—11 April, '19.

At the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference held on the 11 April 1919, under the presidency of M. Clemenceau (French Premier) Mr Barnes on behalf of the International Labour convention placed a scheme for International Labour Organisation for insertion in the Peace Treaty. Delegates for the different countries were present including Lord Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikanir as the Indian representatives and also representatives of the British Dominions.

Mr. Barnes outlined the unhappy nature of the pre-war labour conditions, and emphasised that the workers were determined never to return to those conditions. He urged that the highest wage-earning countries were not the best successful in the world-competition. For the first time in history they were now seeking the co-operation of all concerned; namely the State, employers and workers with a view to raising the standard of life everywhere in the world. The best means of doing this was not penalties against the weak and poor workers but publicity and agreement. The fundamental idea of the proposed organisation is to bring together in a public conference all the three concerned, so that the fullest information may be collected and distributed publicly for a betterment of past and existing conditions. The organisation would work in harmony with the League of Nations. The annual conference would be held at the seat of the League of Nations. The permanent office would be situated at this seat to collect and distribute information. The conference would consist of 4 members from each State, 2 being the state representatives, 1 for the workers and 1 for the employers. As regards the Federal States certain reservations would be embodied to allow their representation, and provision for providing special modifications in the case of countries imperfectly developed. The first conference is to be held at Washington in 1919. He concluded by emphasising the importance of the Labour Organisation, as it would strengthen the League of Nations by enabling it to take root in the daily life of the People.

Mr. Wilson warmly welcomed the proposal and said that that was an Indian Charter which he accepted on behalf of the American workers.

Sir S. P. Sinha in the course of his speech said that from the Industrial standpoint India was in an extremely backward condition, but they hoped in the next few years a great impetus would be given to indigenous industries. If these industries were to be developed on sound foundations they must look to the welfare of the workers. Already something had been done in India. The Factory Act of some years ago had already produced some good effect, but as regards India's climatic, social and other conditions, their own Factory commission recommended that progress must be slow. As representatives of India, they had watched the developments of this convention (the Labour Convention) with some misgiving, fearing that allowance would not be made for peculiar conditions of other countries. Happily now those misgivings have been banished by Mr. Barnes' amendment which has reference to countries having special labour conditions. Happily those labour conditions of his country were vastly different from those of the Western countries, and he gladly and wholeheartedly accepted the Labour Convention with that amendment.

The Maharaja of Bikanir also spoke. He warmly sympathised with the efforts of the Convention to ameliorate the conditions of Labour. He was glad that special provisions, which were very necessary, have been inserted with a view to meeting the condition of countries like India. He would however like to make one point clear. As the territories of the Ruling Princes lay outside British India, and as legislation enacted for British India by the British Government could not apply to Indian States, and as the only competent authority to legislate for an Indian state was the Government of the state concerned, it should be clearly understood that the authority within whose competence the matter lies for enactment of legislation would be the constitutive authority of the various Indian or other states concerned.

The Resolution.

Mr. Barnes introduced the resolution which was unanimously accepted, that the Peace Conference approved the proposed Scheme and the Governments concerned were requested to proceed forthwith with the nomination of their representatives on the Organising Committee for the October Conference, the Committee to begin work immediately.

India in America.

[*The following account of the work done in America for and by Indians during the early part of 1918 is taken from Mrs. Besant's Paper "New India."*]

An "Indian Home Rule League of America" has been started in New York U. S. A., with the following constitution.

"Whereas, The Indian Home Rule movement is being pushed on vigorously in India and England with the help and co-operation of eminent Englishmen and Englishwomen, and

"Whereas, a large number of the Hindus in this country deeply sympathise with the movement and are anxious to further it as much as lies in their power, and

"Whereas, the war utterances of President Wilson in favour of the rights of nationalities to determine their own forms of government have made it clear that the people of this country sympathise with the efforts of subject and small nationalities to achieve autonomy ; therefore it is desirable that an Indian Home Rule League be formed and established in this country to include all such Hindus and Americans as sympathise with the cause and are prepared to give their moral and national support to it."

The aims and objects to this League shall be :

1. (a) To support the Home Rule movement in India and co-operate with the Home Rule League, the All-India Moslem League and the Indian National Congress—organisations of India and England.

(b) To further all kinds of friendly intercourse—social, educational, cultural and commercial—between India and America.

2. The membership of this League is open to all who sympathise with its object.

3. The membership will be of three kinds.

(a) Active members who will pay dollars 10 (Rs. 30) a year.

(b) Associate members who will pay dollars 3 (Rs. 9) a year.

(c) Members who will pay dollar 1 (Rs. 3) a year.

4. The affairs of the League shall be managed by a council consisting of seven, five of whom will be elected annually by the associate-members.

5. The League shall maintain an office in the City of New York where regular accounts shall be kept of all receipts and disbursements of money in connection with the League.

The President of the League is Lala Lajpat Rai.

We hear from the United States that "American interest in India is increasing rapidly, and many factors are combining to effectuate this." One of these is the League for World Liberation, founded last October by native-born Americans, who were in sympathy not only with the Allies' plan of liberating all subject peoples, but also with what they call Mrs. Annie Besant's "greater plan of a free world, that would include religious and economic equality as well as political." In fact, Mrs. Besant was offered the post of International President, but has not, at present, accepted it, while feeling grateful for the honour, since her work is already too heavy, and the difficulties of communication between India and the rest of the world are so great. The broad ideals of the League, as regards World Liberation, are stated in a small book by Mr. Shibley, who has long been identified with constructive work in Washington, and it has been sent to the leading politicians in America. We hear that a statement about India has been included in the book, but the little volume has not yet reached us.

Our correspondent says :

The League's immediate object is to help in the democratising of India along the harmonious lines suggested by Mr. Montagu, and more particularly by means of the Congress League Reform Scheme. India is the largest Nation still held subject, the one most needing relief. The representatives of the people have amicably agreed upon their demands, and the granting of their aspirations would not dislocate India's war contribution, but on the contrary enhance it. Hence the League for World Liberation feels that the granting of India's self determination would not only redound to the advantage of the Allies, but it would also be the first great step towards the realisation of a world made safe for democracy, according to President Wilson's ideals. Therefore our League is working, by loyal and peaceful methods, to awaken American sympathy and support for India's liberation and elevation to the status of a Self Governing British Dominion.

Branches of the League have been established in the principal cities of America, through which our activities are being carried on. The most important eastern centre is at Washington, D. C., where Dr. Robins and Mr. Shibley are especially helpful and devoted.

President Wilson's reception of the data on India previously sent to him was very sympathetic, and, as our correspondent says, "his heart goes out to all oppressed peoples". Petitions bearing thousands of signatures in favour of President Wilson's ideals being applied to India are pouring into Washington, and are placed in his hands by our Washington representatives.

Another very valuable piece of work which is being done is the establishment of a Research Bureau. On this our correspondent tells us :

We have classified all data concerning India, including the valuable pamphlets which we brought with us, and your books on the subject. These are all cross indexed for quick reference. We have given widespread notification that we have this data for all who desire it. We are thus enabled to supply information whenever it is needed, which is often, and upon short notice. We now have the most complete and up-to-date library in America upon Indian matters. What we greatly need is that we shall receive at least two copies of all pamphlets printed in India on important topics, and especially Mrs. Besant's speeches.

Newspapers are constantly stopped though regularly subscribed for. Still our good friends manage to present India's case pretty fully :

This is an important part of our work, as reliable, recent, and unprejudiced information is difficult to obtain. A short time ago Mr. Blum of Kansas City met Sir Frederick Smith, England's Attorney General travelling in America, who asked for a statement of India's case. Mr. Blum wrote for this and asked us if we could prepare it quickly. We said Yes, and in a few days had the Ms. ready and it was forwarded to Sir Frederick. This is only one illustration of the work which we are doing. It is unobtrusive, but highly important.

Diplomatic Work : This is also effective. Our seeing the important leaders in Washington, important Senators, editors, statesmen, as well as Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Gompers, head of the American Labour Movement, has had definite results. We have kept in touch with these people, where advisable, and shall keep them informed of new developments regarding India. The consensus of American opinion is emphatically that India must participate in the world's advance towards democracy. Among Government circles, of course, the usual diplomatic courtesy between Nations forbids any public announcement of suggested interference or bringing pressure to bear upon England. Certainly, however, recent developments in the Far East will emphasise the need of granting India any concessions necessary to keep her as an Allied friend and a generous contributor to the war.

Press Work : We have continued our publicity campaign through the newspapers, and have sent statements of India's case to Canadian dailies as well. The tremendous publicity which our mission gained last October, brought India to the attention of the

American papers as never before, and the result is that their columns are now open to Indian items. Literally hundreds of articles appear each month in American papers, where only a few appeared before. This is permeating the mind of the people with Indian thought, and the result is magnificent. In this department we suffer from lack of funds to engage clerks and shorthand writers but we are doing the best we can.

A Bureau has also been started for the defence of Mrs. Besant against the slanders circulated against her by Lord Sydenham and the Indo-British Association.

Our friends are cooperating with Lala Lajpat Rai and the Indian Home Rule League founded by him :

They publish a small monthly magazine "young India," which will do a good work if they are tactful. We are members of the League and are helping it in every way possible. Its methods are peaceful and constitutional ; in fact, they are endeavouring to counteract the bad impression made by the revolutionists who have recently been on trial in San Francisco in connection with German intrigue. Mrs. Hotchner is President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Indian H. R. League.

[*N. B. Lajpat Rai's "Young India" is prohibited in India--*
See on this pp. 18-25, *India in Parliament*].

